Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-89-045 *9 March 1989*

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Foreign Ministers Meeting in Vienna Concludes

LD0803173289 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 8 TASS—The meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 European countries and the United States and Canada, which closed in the Austrian capital Wednesday, revealed the urgent need for new approaches to security issues and for qualitatively new steps to reduce military arsenals.

The meeting was held in connection with the forthcoming talks in Vienna's Hofburg Palace on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's speech evoked much interest. It reiterated the Soviet Union's determination to consistently follow the policy of radically improving the international situation and its readiness for radical disarmament measures.

Other participants also expressed their profound concern for the destinies of the world and their desire for a frank dialogue aimed at looking for mutually acceptable solutions and compromises.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher spoke about the need to develop contacts in the military sphere which would help strengthen confidence and disarmament.

He said that Bonn, jointly with Poland's government, has proposed convening a meeting of military experts from NATO, the Warsaw Treaty and neutral and nonaligned countries with the view to exchanging opinions on security concepts, military strategies and doctrines.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petr Mladenov said that the forthcoming talks are a vital element in the search for the all-European solution of problems faced by nations for decades.

He said that socialist countries have considerably cut unilaterally their armed forces, armaments and military budgets, thus confirming their sincere peaceful intentions.

Mladenov said that "we expect Western countries to make reply steps in the interests of removing mutual mistrust".

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes called for the establishment of a "European centre for the prevention of war" and a "zone of goodneighbourly relations" along the border dividing NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

He said such a zone in which military contingents would be cut to "necessary potentials" could help reduce the risk of conflict.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said the Warsaw Treaty and NATO are equally responsible for stability in Europe. He expressed his solidarity with his Western partners but, he added, he would prefer not viewing Europe as a continent divided into two blocks.

In his words, this would be in conflict with the present-day trends in Europe. At the same time, the minister opposed the full elimination of nuclear weapons and called for the modernisation of armaments and for enhanced combat efficiency of the armies.

Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock said concluding the meeting that if the forthcoming talks help dramatically reduce the existing potentials of armaments and strengthen mutual confidence, this would be an important step toward the creation of a European home.

Austrian peace activists urged participants in the forthcoming talks to turn Europe into a continent of peace. They also called on NATO to heed the Soviet Union's peace initiatives.

The activists staged a demonstration outside the Hofburg Palace in support of efforts to ensure real disarmament. At the entrance to the palace, the demonstrators displayed a poster depicting a dove of peace breaking a menacing missile.

Shevardnadze on Talks

PM0803145389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Own correspondent I. Melnikov dispatch: "Mutually Acceptable Solutions Needed"]

[Text] Vienna, 7 Mar—Following the bad February weather, spring has arrived in full bloom over Vienna. The sky is a blue arc over the city and the streets are sun drenched. The Viennese are joking that this time the calendar spring has coincided with a diplomatic spring.

The joke is wholly appropriate. The old Hofburg Palace is adorned by 35 national flags, and the foreign ministers of the states participating in the all-European conference have been speaking for 2 days now in its main hall—the ballroom. The ministers have converged on Vienna to initiate talks on confidence- and security-building measures and on conventional armed forces cuts in Europe.

The talks are scheduled to start 9 March, but speeches by all the foreign ministers who have come to Vienna will have been heard from the ballroom rostrum for the 3 days preceding them. The ministers are setting out the positions and attitudes of their countries on the most important task of the day—disarmament—and they are demonstrating the extent to which their own governments adhere to the all-European process.

On the eve of the opening of the forum I talked with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock. He gave an upbeat reply to a question about the prospects for the upcoming Vienna talks. He noted that this optimism is by no means a reflex action and that there will undoubtedly be difficulties during the talks, even if such difficulties are not dictated by ill will on someone's part. There will be plenty of problems, but today Europe is greatly different from what it was 10 or even 5 years ago. It has become wiser and more prepared for concrete action rather than empty disputes. Europeans can see that U.S.-USSR relations are developing in the direction of cooperation. All this allows us to be optimistic.

Yesterday, on the opening day of the meeting, there was universal attention to two speeches—those by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. The two speeches are echoed in the headlines of today's Vienna newspapers—"Overcoming the Split in Europe" (DIE PRESSE), "Europe Needs Modern Security System" (VOLKSSTIMME), and so forth. The mass media have been paying particular attention to the three-stage Soviet plan for cutting armed forces in Europe and to the fact that Warsaw Pact and NATO approaches to this problem could be "bridged." Observers recognize that the Soviet and NATO plans contain major differences, but they are both based on the idea of scrapping the potential for a surprise attack and large-scale offensive actions. It is this fact, along with the intention of the sides to achieve a lower level of overall military confrontation in Europe, that has been making the commentators optimistic.

Before E.A. Shevardnadze flew to Moscow he answered a question from this PRAVDA correspondent.

[Melnikov] You have 2 days of work in Vienna behind you. What do they indicate with regard to the "political health" of our NATO colleagues in the talks and the level of their readiness to enter into a productive dialogue?

[Shevardnadze] If we're talking about the position put forward by certain speakers, we can agree with a great deal of their speeches. We believe that the talks process is beginning. I put our views to, among others, the U.S. secretary of state and the British foreign secretary. In particular I noted that we categorically disagree with the idea of pushing the question of air forces or troop numbers into the background during any discussion. But talks are talks. This is a complex process, but we will find mutually acceptable solutions during the dialogue.

Pact, NATO Proposals Presented in Vienna

LD0903135789 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

The main tasks of the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence- and security- building measures, which opened here today at Hofburg Palace, are to rid Europe of the world's biggest conventional arms burden, to reach a balanced agreement on their substantial reduction, to give a powerful impetus to the further development of the all-European process. The start to these talks was given by the meeting of foreign ministers of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada, held in the Austrian capital. The Soviet Union was represented at it by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo, foreign minister of the USSR.

"The Vienna talks", Shevardnadze told the TASS correspondent before flying back to Moscow, "are of historical importance. The beginning forums are unprecedented as regards scope, scale and purposes. They may usher in a qualitatively new stage of the disarmament process, galvanize it in all directions. And this holds true not only of Europe, but of other regions, too. Much has already been said about this, but I wish to stress once again: The central problem of the negotiations is that of disarmament. If we do not overcome the military confrontation, it will be difficult to expect to overcome Europe's split", the Soviet foreign minister said.

"It is very important for the talks to make a good start from the very outset" it was stated here today at a press conference by Oleg Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation. "It is necessary therefore to outline the contours of future agreements already now. And if work is then pursued with utmost vigour, without delays and pauses, the latter could be achieved in a relatively short space of time", he added.

On behalf of the socialist nations Grinevskiy tabled a proposal at the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, setting out a conceptual scheme for a possible agreement on conventional armed forces. Lying at the bedrock of the proposal is the idea of their phased reduction on the continent. The first stage envisages the liquidation of disbalances and asymmetries in the armed forces and armaments of the two military-political alignments and the achievement of equal ceilings, which would be 10-15 per cent lower than the minimum levels possessed by any of the sides. The second stage envisages a 25 per cent reduction of the armed forces of the sides together with their hardware, while the third stage—continued reduction to the lowest possible levels. Great importance is attached, moreover, to the reduction of armaments possessing the biggest offensive potential. The socialist nations also move to set up an effective system of control over the fulfilment of the achieved agreements, including on-spot inspection.

The Canadian delegate submitted a proposal on conventional armed forces on behalf of the NATO nations. Political analysts have noted immediately that it is of a one-sided character, since it provides for the reduction of three types of hardware only: tanks, artillery and

armoured carriers. It envisages the establishment of maximum levels for them. The NATO document does not contain any proposals to reduce troops and aviation.

U.S. Views Quicker CW Withdrawal From FRG

LD0903073989 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

U.S. State Department Spokesman Charles Redman confirmed on Wednesday that the United States is studying the possibility of speeding up the withdrawal of their chemical weapons from West Germany as the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III recently reported in Vienna.

We hope to do this quicker than by the end of 1992 as was scheduled, said Redman. I can't name the date the decision will be made.

The spokesman also said that the United States is consulting on this question with both U.S. and West German experts.

These consultations do not involve binary weapons, Redman told TASS. He stressed that binary weapons won't be located in Europe in accordance with Congress's decision adopted last year. The newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST reported that during the coming decade the United States will produce about 1 million binary weapons worth 3 billion dollars.

U.S. Radar Said To Violate ABM Treaty

AU0803104489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by Lieutenant General Viktor Pavlov: "What Do You Know About Vardo?; The Opinion of an Expert"]

[Text] Moscow (NOVOSTI press service)—At the most distant northeastern point in Norway, in the village of Vardo, almost on the border with the USSR, an American radar system, which few people know about, has appeared. They built it in 1986-87.

The radar station has an antenna and is covered by a large semispherical dome which emits radio waves. According to the type of radiation, this radar system can be classified among modern radar stations with phased antenna grids [fazovana antenova mriezka]. It is precisely oriented toward Soviet territory. The most important characteristics (the frequency, length, number of impulse repetitions, and other features) are very close to the characteristics of the American antimissile defense radar station of the STH type which originated within the framework of the "Side Defense" program and which was tested for the interception of Minuteman intercontinental missiles. The new American radar station in Norway can only be classified with difficulty among the devices of national technical control. First and foremost, it can belong to antimissile defense radar systems or, which is less probable, to radar systems for the instantaneous verification of the launching of ballistic missiles. If this supposition is confirmed, we are once more witnesses (after the radar station in Greenland and the construction of a radar station in England) to another violation of the ABM Treaty by the United States. The treaty prohibits the siting of antimissile defense radar stations anywhere, except in permitted deployment areas of limited antimissile defenses (the Grand Fox or Washington bases) or in antimissile defense firing ranges. If the new radar system belongs to radar stations which give advanced warning of a missile attack it can only be sited within U.S. national borders with an external orientation.

This radar station fits precisely into the monolithic block of the offensive space weapons system, of which it is the first line. It is directed at the destruction of ballistic missiles from a retaliatory strike by the other side (in the active section of their trajectory).

For the discussion of questions which arise in the sphere of observing the ABM Treaty and other treaties on the limitation of strategic arms there exists in USSR-American relations a special permanent consultative committee (set up in 1972). Its regular meeting ended recently in Geneva. The short communique on its proceedings does not enable us to evaluate the results for the resolution of these questions. However, as far as we know, the Soviet side raised the question of the radar system in Vardo. At the same time, it was on the agenda for the second time. The American participants in the meeting preferred to keep silent. It is necessary to state here that ignoring the demands for an explanation from the other side is in itself a violation of the agreed procedure on the work of the committee.

When we want to discuss the substance of a developing problem the behavior of the American side gives its partner in the agreement, that is, the USSR, reason to assume the worst.

Shevardnadze Withdraws Reservations to Treaties
PM0903105989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Letter From E.A. Shevardnadze to J. Perez de Cuellar"; undated]

[Text] Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations Aleksandr Belonogov has conveyed a letter from Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

In the letter Shevardnadze said:

"Esteemed Mr Secretary General,

The Soviet Union, which attaches much importance to enhancing the role of the UN International Court of Justice in world affairs in present-day conditions, has begun considering the issue of withdrawing its earlier-made reservations to a number of international treaties concerning the jurisdiction of this legal body.

Taking into account the importance of the further development of international cooperation in the humanitarian area, it was deemed expedient to start the process in the field of human rights.

In this connection, Mikhail Gorbachev in his address to the United Nations on December 7, 1988 proposed that all countries recognize the compulsory jurisdiction of the UN International Court of Justice over the interpretation and application of human rights agreements.

Proceeding from this, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 10 February 1989 passed a decree in which the Soviet Union recognized the international court's compulsory jurisdiction with regard to the following international treaties:

—The convention of the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide of 1948,

—The convention for the suppression of the traffic in persons and of the exploitation of prostitution by third parties of 1949,

—The convention of the political rights of women of 1952,

—The convention of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination of 1965,

—The convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women of 1979,

—The convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment or punishment of 1984.

In accordance with the decree, the Soviet Union announces that corresponding provisions of the mentioned treaties will be applied to disputes concerning the interpretation and application of these treaties with regard to cases that may arise after the date of the notification of the UN secretary general of the withdrawal by the Soviet Union of its reservations.

In this way, according to the decree, disputes that may arise in the future between the Soviet Union and other parties to the above-mentioned treaties on their interpretation and application can be referred to the UN International Court of Justice at the request of either disputing side from the date of this letter.

In making this decision the Soviet Union was guided by the interests of strengthening international law and order ensuring the primacy of law in politics.

Favoring the establishment of the primacy of international law, we proceed from the idea that international legal norms and obligations of countries have a priority over their internal laws.

Naturally, such an approach presupposes the all-around use of all means of the peaceful settlement of disputes, including the active use of the UN international court's potential.

Mr Secretary General, I request you as the depository of the above-mentioned treaties to notify the parties to it of the content of this letter.

I also request you to distribute this letter as a UN official document.

Sincerely yours,
Eduard Shevardnadze."

Adamishin Cited on UN Human Rights Talks
LD0803205189 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Geneva March 8 TASS —The Soviet Union seeks international humanitarian cooperation aimed at real improvements in the field of human rights, a Soviet deputy foreign minister said Wednesday.

Anatoliy Adamishin told the 45th session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights that this presupposes the freedom of choice, the renunciation of the monopoly on the truth, the establishment and recognition of political and cultural pluralism.

"This presupposes dialogue rather than confrontation, the exclusion of the self-sufficing ideological component. This presupposes the force of policy and persuasion rather than the policy of persuasion by force," he went on.

Adamishin said that confidence-building measures are making their way not only in what concerns the military sphere, say, the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

He cited the agreements reached at the European meeting in Vienna as a wonderful example of efficient cooperation.

"The Vienna meeting has shown that there are huge potentialities for releasing politics from the fetters of militarism and ideological hostility.

"It has put the process of security and cooperation in Europe on a qualitatively new level when one can already see the first contours of a common European home," the deputy minister said.

He said the Vienna meeting was marked by a serious breakthrough in human rights.

"We highly appreciate the decision to convene a conference on the development of humanitarian cooperation in 1991 in Moscow," he said.

The Vienna agreements, he said, began to be implemented in the Soviet Union immediately after they were adopted. He noted in this connection that the Soviet Union remains so far the only country to publish in a large circulation the full text of the final document of the Vienna meeting.

"The work of this session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission on the whole confirms the idea that constructive discussions are possible," Adamishin went on.

"We consider it imperative that the most important human rights agreements be made universal. These are above all international pacts on human rights.

"They reflect the consensus of the international community. If a country not bound by any commitments asks another how it fulfils its commitments, this makes the latter's stand vulnerable," he said.

The deputy minister said the Soviet Union pursues a consistent policy of broadening means of control in the field of human rights.

He added that this policy will be continued, as will the policy of attaching more importance to the humanitarian component among the main components of international politics.

"The Soviet Union will continue the policy of choosing exclusively political means to solve disputable issues and establishing a comprehensive security system that would mainly rest on political, economic, ecological and humanitarian foundations," Adamishin said.

"We think that only in this way can our country get its second wind at the end of the 20th century and prove to itself and others the efficiency, democratism and the humaneness of the socialist system," the Soviet deputy foreign minister said in conclusion.

UNESCO Consultations Held in Kiev 22-24 Feb

AU0603112089 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Consultations in Kiev"]

[Text] On 22-24 February the responsible secretaries of the UNESCO national commissions of the European socialist countries held consultations in the Ukraine's capital city. They discussed topical problems concerning the activity of this international organization.

New Envoy to EC Views Cooperation Prospects

PM0603141389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview in Brussels with V.G. Shemyatenkov, head of the Soviet mission to the EC, by own correspondent V. Antonov under the rubric "Appointments": "Head of Soviet Mission to EC"—date not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Brussels—Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary V.G. Shemyatenkov, head of the Soviet mission to the EC, has presented his credentials to J. Delors, president of the EC Commission, in Brussels.

Following the credentials presentation ceremony this IZVESTIYA correspondent met with the head of the Soviet mission to the EC and asked him to answer a few questions.

[Antonov] Vladimir Georgiyevich, could you introduce yourself to IZVESTIYA readers?

[Shemyatenkov] I was born in Moscow in 1938. I graduated from the USSR Foreign Ministry's Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1961. I've done editorial, publishing, diplomatic, and party work. Recently I've been deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department. I'm a doctor of economic sciences, I specialize in the problems of capitalist economics, and I've written a number of books, brochures, and articles.

[Antonov] Official relations between the Soviet Union and the EC were established in summer 1988. And now the Soviet mission to the EC has officially started operations in the "European capital," as Brussels is often called. What tasks are you setting yourself?

[Shemyatenkov] The basic task is to organize what are for our diplomatic practice essentially unprecedented relations with the West European integrated grouping, which is a major independent force in the world arena.

Some 320 million people live in the EC, and the EC's aggregate GDP is close to that of the United States and three times greater than Japan's. These countries account for more than one-third of world trade, more than one-fifth of spending on scientific research and development, and one-third of the capitalist world's gold and currency reserves. The EC plays a notable role in world politics too.

We must admit self-critically that we in our country were very belated in fully recognizing the political, economic, and social consequences of West European integration. In this respect the establishment of official CEMA-EEC and USSR-EC relations can rightly be seen as a vivid manifestation of the fruitfulness of new political thinking and the policy based on it.

[Antonov] What, in your opinion, will be the structure and main features of USSR-EC relations?

[Shemyatenkov] In my view, these relations will develop on three levels, as it were: first, at the level of relations between our state on the one hand, and EC institutions on the other; second, at the level of ministries, departments, and corresponding EC organs; and third, at the level of enterprises, associations, organizations, and individuals. Above all, I would like to talk about the organization of political cooperation. A number of specific steps have already been taken in this respect. A series of political contacts is envisaged. Naturally, the possible sphere for such contacts could be very extensive.

Economic cooperation is a no less important avenue. In this area the most important thing for us in the immediate future will be to create a legal treaty basis for such cooperation. We proceed on the basis that, for all their importance, reserves for boosting traditional trade are nonetheless limited. We must review our priorities.

[Antonov] As is well-known, the EEC countries have set themselves the task of creating a single internal market by the end of 1992, which presupposes free movement of capital and labor and free exchange of goods and services. Naturally, it is important for us to know how this will affect the Soviet Union's interests.

[Shemyatenkov] Such a process is indeed under way. But it is hard to say at the moment just how it will turn out. In this respect I think that one of our mission's most important tasks is to make a more in-depth study of this process. At the same time, it should be said that the creation of a single internal market in West Europe will inevitably raise a number of new issues in the sphere of USSR-EC mutual relations—issues which will have to be resolved.

European Parliament Delegation Visits Moscow

Received by Zagladin

LD2702123889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today met a delegation of the European Parliament, headed by V. Bettiza, chairman of the group, to develop contacts with the Soviet Union.

The conversation noted that the meeting of Soviet and European parliamentarians opens a new phase in their cooperation. The guests spoke of the great interest being shown abroad in the social and economic changes and restructuring underway in the USSR. The parliamentarians were briefed on the processes of renewal of all spheres of Soviet society and the carrying out of political, economic, and legal reform. It was underlined that a new qualitative level of socialism could be achieved by in-depth humanizing of society and the extensive involvement of the working people in dealing with affairs of state.

The guests spoke of the changes taking place in European society and in particular of the processes of forming a single market. The sides reiterated their readiness to facilitate the strengthening of cooperation and security on the continent and to maintain peace in their common European home by joint efforts.

Meet With Dobrynin

LD0103141189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1004 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar (TASS)—Anatoliy Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet met on Tuesday with Vincenzo Bettiza, head of the European Parliament delegation, chairman of the group in charge of developing contacts with the Soviet Union.

A number of questions arising from the results of the Vienna meeting of the representatives of the CSCE participating states were discussed.

Received by Lukyanov

PM0203125189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With European Parliament Delegation"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin 1 March a representative delegation of the European Parliament headed by V. Bettiza, chairman of the group for the development of contacts with the Soviet Union. The delegation is on an official visit to Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A.I. Lukyanov briefed the delegation members on the great and strenuous work being done in the Soviet Union to restructure the main spheres of society's life, on the reform of the political system, and on the progress of the campaign to elect USSR people's deputies. The guests'

attention was drawn to the major Soviet foreign policy initiatives and the policy of averting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, implementing real disarmament, and resolving global problems—which found concentrated expression in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech.

There was a thorough and constructive discussion of a wide range of European affairs. The Soviet side pointed out that the ideas of the new political thinking founded on the priority of values common to all mankind are being asserted increasingly strongly in relations among the continent's states; the establishment of official relations between the USSR and the European Communities is opening a new stage in the realization of the idea of creating a "common European home."

V. Bettiza and other delegation members voiced satisfaction with the opportunity afforded them to familiarize themselves with the renewal processes taking place in the Soviet Union. They emphasized the significance of the fact that in the political cooperation getting under way between the USSR and the European Communities its parliamentary dimension—as well as the development of contacts among local representative organs, public organizations, political parties, and various social and professional groups—is becoming an increasingly important element.

During a discussion of questions of security and cooperation, which are of vital importance to the European peoples, both sides pointed out that the final document recently adopted at the meeting in Vienna represents a good basis for further developing the Helsinki process in various areas. It is important now to give real substance to its provisions and achieve the implementation of the Vienna accords by all the participants. Europe's parliaments and parliamentary associations, which have considerable potential for mobilizing broad political and public forces, could make an effective and constructive contribution to resolving these tasks.

Discuss EEC-CEMA Trade

LD0103141589 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The management of the CMEA Secretariat and a delegation of the European Parliament discussed at their meeting here on Wednesday possibilities of the development of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the CMEA and the EEC. The delegation staying in the USSR at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is made up of representatives of several groups in the European Parliament.

During the talks the sides outlined principles on which their cooperation should be based which include, in the first place, mutual benefit and the orientation towards the attaining of tangible results. The European Parliament delegation agreed that there existed good prospects for the development of relations in the spheres suggested by the CMEA at a meeting of experts from the two organisations late last year. Thus, cooperation in ecology, energy generation, science, technology, standardization, transport, statistics and joint economic, scientific and technological forecasting would be of interest to both sides. However, CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev pointed out that these seven directions were not the only spheres in which the two organisations could possibly cooperate.

In its turn, the European Parliament delegation proposed to examine a possibility of developing cooperation in the sphere of tourism and the creation of audiovisual facilities. The CMEA representatives showed interest in the proposal.

Commenting on the talks, Sychev told TASS that the activities of European parliamentarians perceptibly helped develop the CMEA-EEC relations. He described the meeting as another step towards the expansion of cooperation between the two organisations and expressed hope that the European Parliament delegation would urge the EEC to respond promptly to the CMEA proposals on the development of economic relations.

Give Press Conference

LD0103154789 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Participants in a news conference held here Wednesday unanimously summed up contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament as mutually advantageous and useful.

Vincenzo Bettiza, chairman of the group of the European Parliament for the development of contacts with the USSR, who heads the first ever delegation of the European Parliament to the Soviet Union described the visit as "an event of historic importance", as "an important positive step in the development of relations between the USSR and the European Community". He emphasised that useful and detailed debates took place during the visit. They made it possible to exchange opinions on a broad range of questions.

The head of the delegation expressed the hope that contacts between the European Parliament and the USSR Supreme Soviet would be continued. He noted that this must promote the development of relations also in other areas. He said, specifically, it is "abnormal" that only three per cent of the volume of the EEC foreign trade is with the Soviet Union, which is a smaller volume than trade with Switzerland or Austria.

Addressing the news conference, Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, admitted that for a long time integrational processes in Western Europe had been viewed in the USSR "with distrust and even distaste". But with perestroyka, also in the foreign policy, the USSR has

arrived at the conclusion that integration is an objective process which cannot be ignored. What is more, an opportunity should be sought for interaction between different integrational processes taking place both in the West and in the East of Europe, Zagladin said. "The visit of the delegation of the European Parliament has shown that this is quite feasible."

The Soviet MP noted that an honest and open dialogue had been held during the meetings and talks, that the sides had stated their views on different matters. Zagladin declared in favour of continued contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament.

'Roundtable' Discusses Middle East, Vienna Talks
LD0503195689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 5 Mar 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Gennadiy Vedenyapin, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator; with Igor Petrovich Belyayev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer, and Rudolf Fedorovich Kolchanov, TRUD deputy editor in chief]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] Hello, comrades. Taking part in our roundtable meeting today are Igor Petrovich Belyayev, the political obsever of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and Rudolf Fedorovich Kolchanov, the deputy editor in chief of the newspaper TRUD.

I'd like to begin our discussion by saying something about the problems of the Near East. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze ended his visit there this week. This was indeed no ordinary action of our diplomacy. It was the first such visit for 15 years to that conflict-torn region. It took place immediately after the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan. Its main feature, I think, has been the purely constructive nature of the talks—the complete renunciation of the stereotypes of confrontation and the obsolete canons of the past, and the breadth of the contacts.

A few of the Western commentators have tried to assess this Soviet foreign policy initiative from the point of view of the old concepts of rivalry, noting that it has left U.S. policy in the shade at a time when the new U.S. President is only just forming his Near East team. But I think that view of the situation is just characteristic of the U.S. side. How else is one to understand President Bush's statement at a recent White House press conference that in his opinion the Soviet Union should have a limited role in the Near East? The very tone of such assessments and utterances would seem to be erroneous. Not the attempt to force anyone out, but concerted creative effort must be the leitmotiv of any country's policy in the Near East. We have legitimate interests there, but we also acknowledge the legitimate interests of other powers.

[Kolchanov] What is the specific character of this visit? Well, in the first place, there was an immediate encounter, as it were, with three crises. The first was the Arab-Israeli crisis; the second, the Iran-Iraq war—since peace there in the Persian Gulf is still a long way off; and finally, the third was the visit to Iran, bringing us to what is happening with Afghanistan. This has also been part of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's efforts aimed at really getting a settlement of the very difficult problems of that vast subregion of the Near and Middle East.

Well, as for the Arabs and Israel, it's good, of course, that the visit began with Damascus. Syria is now playing a key role in the crisis in the Near East. Of special importance, in my view, was Shevardnadze's talk with [Jordan's] King Husayn. King Husayn has not only occupied his throne for a long time and is not only playing an important part in a Near East settlement, but he told me at one of my many meetings with him that he's in the habit, before putting forward his arguments on any issue connected with the Near East, of consulting both Moscow and London, Western Europe and the United States. That is to say that, in short, he consults all the interested sides. He does not exclude the Soviet Union from a Near East settlement, as President Bush is trying to do.

In Egypt our foreign minister emphasized that the essence of our position is the struggle for a balance of interests. Balance of interests is such a flexible concept, because one really must, after all, take account of everyone's interests. Our foreign minister's visits to Baghdad and Tehran have been of special importance. The Iran-Iraq war is supposed to have ceased. Some of our listeners are nearly under the impression that a peace treaty will be signed tomorrow. Yet the talks about even agreeing on a truce are deadlocked. They won't be properly resumed until March or possibly April, at the UN Headquarters in New York. Only then, perhaps, will a new phase begin.

The fact that in the process of the negotiations in Damascus, Amman, Cairo, and Baghdad, new forms were being worked out all the time, with a joint group of experts being set up in one place, an economic cooperation accord achieved in another place, an agreement to intensify cultural contacts somewhere else—all this, taken together, shows that we are not simply present in the Near East, but we are active in the Near East, and active in a perfectly clear direction, in the direction of peace.

Of course, it is also of great importance, as far as I can judge, that there in Cairo our foreign minister met Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Arens. He is a man who represents the wing of Israeli politicians who are extremely reluctant to enter into any discussion at all of the Palestinians, considering this to almost be one of their internal affairs; that the solving of the Palestinian question depends entirely on Tel Aviv.

And of course it's a fine thing that the next person Shevardnadze talked with after Arens was Yasir 'Arafat. Yasir 'Arafat is now the personification, if you like, of wisdom in the approach to solving a question such as determining the position of the PLO on Israel and on the future Palestinian state's relations with Israel—on everything that is connected in one way or another with the positive role of the Palestinians in an upcoming Near East settlement.

[Vedenyapin] So the present stand of the PLO has in general given a considerable boost, or has at least provided quite a lot of hope of a positive settlement to the conflict in the Near East. Hitherto, or as long as that stand of the PLO remained unchanged, there have been, it must be admitted, certain difficulties in solving that problem. Now an ever increasing number of states—just about everywhere in Europe and even on the other side of the Atlantic—acknowledge that really the idea of a Near East conference is the only way to resolve the conflict that has come to a head there—more than come to a head—and which is fraught with the direst consequences. Well, what does Israel think about this? What is its attitude?

[Kolchanov] Israel is categorically opposed to the convening of such a conference. It wants so-called direct talks with the interested Arab states. It wants a continuation of Camp David, in other words. Furthermore, Israel does not on any account want to conduct any negotiations whatsoever with the PLO.

[Vedenyapin] The internal motivation is more or less clear. But what reasons do they give externally for taking that line?

[Belyayev] Outwardly the Israelis justify their position by claiming that the PLO, by declaring that it renounces all forms and varieties of terrorism, is merely maneuvering; that it has merely made a clever move, if you like, the point of which is to dim the vigilance of the Israelis, dim the vigilance of the United States, which, by the way, after 'Arafat's statement which the modern world constantly recalls, has begun a dialogue with the PLO. But then again, what is at issue? The Americans argue that an international conference on the Near East will be nothing more than an umbrella under which those direct talks that Israel is insisting on will go ahead. We, on the other hand, feel an international conference on the Near East must be comprehensive and must discuss all the problems connected in one way or another with the Near East crisis or with the Arab-Israel conflict.

Naturally, in the course of the conference itself, direct talks will be not only possible, but even necessary. The question that arises here is this: Prior conditions are immediately imposed on us, to the effect that if the Soviet Union wants to take part in such a Near East conference, we must restore diplomatic relations with Israel. I personally think the significance of diplomatic relations with a country is dictated by the need for specific work. Let me remind you that while the Iran-Iraq war was in progress, the Iranian Embassy in Baghdad and the Iraqi Embassy in Tehran were open for 5 years. In short, then, contrary to previous practice when war has been declared, the embassies in those two countries were not closed; and in this way there was an exchange of information between the warring sides, directly, without any sort of mediation.

And now, too, Shevardnadze's visit to the Near East has demonstrated that we've got to talk to Israel. I, for instance, consider that it's far better to talk while having an embassy in Tel Aviv. Our minister of foreign affairs has defined our position on this question very clearly. Israel's participation in a Near East conference and the beginning of talks will be the starting point that will in effect restore diplomatic relations between our countries.

[Vedenyapin] Igor Petrovich, what do you think we can expect in the near future? The convening of the actual conference, or some preliminary stage of it? What's your view?

[Belyayev] My answer would be that we can expect an international conference on the Near East to be held, though not tomorrow. Perhaps not in 1989. Why? Because Israel's present position is one of Zionism. I'm afraid Shamir personally—personally—won't buy it. He won't overcome the stumbling block of himself actually having to take part in the conference. I think the predictions here could be very unexpected, but I repeat that it seems to me—it seems to me—that Israel will eventually accept the proposal that it should participate in an international conference on the Near East. But in what form, under what conditions—Israel always talks about conditions—we'll see. And, incidentally, the United States, which continues to give it economic and military assistance, will play a special role in the decision they make.

[Kolchanov] And holds to the principle of special relations with Israel.

[Belyayev] Without question.

[Vedenyapin] Yes. Probably we should say a few words in particular about the visit by Eduard Amvrosiyevich to Iran, because judging by the kind of reception that was shown to the head of the Soviet foreign political department, and judging by the energetic announcement by the Iranian side concerning their interest in strengthening relations with our country, it is probably possible to say that bilateral, Soviet-Iranian relations are passing on to a higher level.

[Belyayev] One can, but in this connection I immediately remember, as an example, 1979. On 24 February, our ambassador in Tehran at the time, Vinogradov, met Imam Khomeyni. On that very day, as Ambassador Vinogradov wrote in his memoirs, published in the

magazine ZNAMYA, Khomeyni said that the people of Iran and Russia, had had good relations for a long time. After all, between us, and I quote: "There is a very long border. In the time of the Pahlavi dynasty, it is true, a cooling of relations came about. But now, the imam said, I very much want there to be not only friendly, but also sincere relations with your country.

Let me remind you that this was 24 February 1979. More than 10 years have passed since that time, and, speaking quite frankly, I would want the present statements, which were made to our foreign minister by Imam Khomeyni and by other people he spoke with, to be closer to reality than the one that I have recounted. Whatever happens, we are neighbors with Iran. We have to live normally. I would not want Iran in the very near future, saying one thing and doing something else, to support those forces that might destroy, let us suppose, the movement toward peace around Afghanistan.

[Vedenyapin] Today is 5 March. This day takes us back to a date that has left a thoroughly sad memory in the history of international relations, to be frank. Exactly 43 years ago, Winston Churchill, in Fulton in the United States, made a speech that marked the beginning of the cold war. It froze relations between East and West for decades. We still find it necessary to clear this obstruction, the obstruction of the cold war. However, we have had success in overcoming the approaches of yesterday. It is enough to recall the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. But there are still enough relapses. Now these relapses into the old thinking are evidently having a noticeable influence on the development of an all-embracing concept with regard to the questions of control over armaments and disarmament, which is proceeding in the NATO Headquarters. This concept has to be sharpened by the experts before the leaders of the NATO member countries come together for their meeting at the end of May. Is it necessary to say that the Warsaw Pact member states already have such an all-embracing plan worked out? It exists.

Its exposition can be found both in the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states and in the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on 15 January 1986. The main aim of this plan is well-known: the total destruction by the year 2000 of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction, the reduction of conventional weaponry, and armed forces reduced to limits of reasonable sufficiency for defense, as this is usually phrased. The question now is whether that concept now being developed in NATO will turn out to be on such a wide scale and so consistent. After all, in the West they have not ever turned away from their advance to nuclear weapons or from the doctrine of nuclear deterrence.

[Kolchanov] A few words about the concepts and logic. In our complex world distrust and suspicion remain, although they are being overcome a little. Different sorts of logic, used to assess certain phenomena, to go about their resolution, remain too. Here, in my opinion, is a very clear example. The agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is now being implemented; the problem of a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons is also moving in a positive direction. It would be logical in this situation to deal with the tactical nuclear weapons, both of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. And if they are not to be eliminated in the initial period, at least an agreement should be reached about a significant reduction. After all, the number of strike aircraft that carry tactical nuclear weapons, nuclear missiles with a range up to 500 km, and atomic artillery guns of 152-mm caliber and larger, that each country now has in Europe, exceeds 10,000. It would be good to reduce these or, even better, to eliminate them completely.

This is one logic. There is another one. It is adhered to across the Atlantic, by the British leadership and by several FRG political leaders. Last autumn, I had occasion to meet Scholz, the FRG defense minister. We had a very long conversation. In this conversation, when we started talking about nuclear weapons, Scholz agreed to give up atomic howitzers, but regarding missiles with a range of 450 to 500 kilometers he maintained a very decidely negative position. That is, both he and some people across the Atlantic, and the British leadership, stand for retaining tactical nuclear weapons, and what's more for their modernization. The West, the popular magazine DER SPIEGEL complains, for the time being cannot in any way dispose itself to Moscow's bold plan in the disarmament sphere. The West is pondering and hesitating whether it is worth modernizing its shorter range missiles immediately or later.

[Vedenyapin] It would be good if only the replacement of individual assemblies of existing Lance missiles was being talked about. Their range, I think, is something on the order of 110 to 120 km. Their actual replacement is being discussed. Indeed, with the word modernization they are trying simply to conceal the upcoming replacement of the missiles. This constitutes a qualitatively new factor. Consequently, they are not talking about either reduction or elimination. It is said that with the destruction of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the only hope that remains for the West to frighten the East is with tactical nuclear weapons. And if, they say, they cannot do without the missiles, the implication is that they have to modernize them. That is the sort of so-called circular....

[Kolchanov, interrupting] This is that same logic of a different approach to the very same facts. All well and good. If the United States and several of their allies do not want to carry on talks on this weapon system, you cannot force them to carry on these talks. We will have to convince our partners, as the saying goes, work with them, counting on and hoping for goodwill and political realism to be shown. But our negative attitude to our position on the moderization of tactical nuclear weapons is clear and more than well-founded.

First, in accordance with the USSR-U.S. treaty, we are completely eliminating missiles with a range up to 1,000 kilometers, the SS-12's, and the modern missiles with a range up to 500 kilometers, the SS-23's. This is well-known by the United States and its allies. So on what basis are they intending to deploy in Europe nuclear missiles of the range which the Soviet Union is eliminating?

Second, in considering the problem of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the United States and its allies are taking into account only nuclear missiles and atomic artillery, but there are also strike fighter aircraft, which carry nuclear weapons. These are bombers, fighter-bombers, and strike aircraft with a range of 1,200 km and more. NATO has more of these nuclear-equipped aircraft in Europe than the Warsaw Pact countries. The correlation of forces in any type of weapons, nuclear or conventional, must be reckoned objectively, otherwise the principle of equal security, which must lie at the basis of any approach to the problem of disarmament, is violated. For the purpose of self-justification and deception, rumors that the Soviet Union is carrying out modernization of this type of weapon are being circulated across the Atlantic. Such affirmations do not correspond to reality at all. A political decision has been made in our country not to replace tactical missiles. At the very outset, the West supported its intentions to modernize tactical nuclear weaponry with arguments about the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional armaments. But now their hand has been called. We are reducing our European grouping by 240,000 people, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery guns, and 800 planes. Furthermore, the six divisions that are being withdrawn from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary are moving out with all the authorized armaments, including tactical nuclear weaponry.

In the future, the reductions that should lead to the complete leveling of potentials in conventional arms at lower levels essentially makes the stress on retaining tactical nuclear weapons aimless and repudiates the West's reasoning in this area. In such a situation elementary common sense requires that we should promote and not hamper the freeing of the European Continent of all types of nuclear weaponry. Realization of this truth is also growing stronger in the West. Even Bonn, although it is not speaking in favor of scrapping tactical nuclear weapons, is nonetheless putting off the decision to modernize them for 2-3 years.

[Belyayev] I would like to ask this question. Some time ago, I had occasion to talk to one of the Pentagon's advisers. I will not give his name, at least he asked me not to. He described the present stage of the disarmament talks like this. He said: Well, we are throwing out the old furniture. By old furniture, he said, I mean not only the missiles with various ranges that have already become obsolete, but also the most up-to-date ones, since, after all, in the future we still have the opportunity to put arms into space. Thus, in short, this modernization is being regarded by Pentagon officials, and not only the Pentagon, in Washington, as some sort of new furniture, as it were, to continue the image, which the United States and circles in Western Europe supporting it would like to arrange in such a way so as to really threaten us in the end.

[Kolchanov] On the one hand your interlocutor who wished to remain anonymous is being cunning. We are not scrapping old weapons whatsoever but the most up-to-date ones, because the Warsaw Pact countries' armed forces in Europe possess both the most up-to-date tanks, the most up-to-date rifle arms, and all types of the most modern armaments. And this is the weaponry that we are scrapping; this is the weaponry that we are withdrawing. So our stance here is clear and noble, I would say. We are really steering things toward the relaxation of tension and the creation of the kind of conditions that rule out the heightening of this tension. As for the Americans, at least from these words, it is clear that they want the reverse effect. They want the heightening of tension with the help of the most up-to-date weapons and, as we have already said, with the help of the kind of modernization that turns this state-of-the-art weaponry into completely new, and even more destructive and terrible, arms. There are different approaches.

[Vedenyapin] Incidentally, the converation that was just mentioned now by Igor Petrovich does indeed contain one of the arguments that is used by the advocates of moderinzation when they claim that we are not disarming sufficiently and are trying to rid ourselves only of obsolete types of arms and so on. Incidentally, there is another interesting aspect here too. Since we're speaking the language of the adherents of modernization, the same Lance missiles—and there are 88 in the FRG—are capable of fulfilling their political role as a deterrent up to 1995 at least. And nonetheless, as you know, the Pentagon is in a hurry and insisting on modernization. Why, is the question. The FINANCIAL TIMES voiced its opinion quite clearly on this score recently by saying that the West fears that in time it will not be possible to resolve this matter politically. So the point is that the new political thinking that is asserting itself increasingly on the European Continent now may impede the supporters of modernization even more from implementing these plans.

We started to talk about the Vienna meeting and I simply want to cite what was said by Comrade Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of our Foreign Ministry, at a recent briefing. He confirmed our point of view that during these talks there is no point in improving arms and modernizing them if we are serious about disarmament and breaking up the two blocs. Obviously, this is just the time when it would not be proper to push ahead with the arms race. Thus, a substantive discussion, we hope, is beginning in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The process of improving the international situation is continuing. And I think the faster that the process of also strengthening economic cooperation between the East and West goes, the more successfully and faster the process for improving the international situation will proceed. Finding a common language in politics naturally presupposes a mutual interest in the sphere of trade and economic links. And, therefore, it is probably possible now, albeit in the fairly long term, to talk not only about lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, but about the creation of a free trade zone here in the future.

[Kolchanov] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, maybe in this complicated and large issue of trade, economic, scientific, and technical links, which is undoubtedly a very important economic basis—an escort even of all-European cooperation—we shall single out one more narrow problem, the problem of the so-called joint ventures, particularly as 2 years have passed since this was announced.

[Vedenyapin] Yes. Incidentally, I think that with regard to the example of joint ventures, we shall unfortunately probably satisfy ourselves that the implementation of prospects of this kind is not an easy or a quick process at all.

[Kolchanov] It is not easy at all. Two years have passed and it seems to me that our expectations have been realized to a lesser degree—let's put it like that—than they should have been. In 2 years 191 ventures have been established. There is also talk about 500 more projects, but it is not known when they will be signed. The total authorized capital of the joint ventures that have been set up comes to less than 1 billion [currency not specified]. So this is still very little indeed. What's wrong; why is this matter progressing so slowly? There are several reasons for this. First and foremost here, I think, is the limited economic thinking of our economic planners. First and foremost, we just cannot restructure ourselves and gear ourselves to the new demands of the time. We do not have the experience in this respect and we do not have a precedent. This is a difficult and new business and is advancing very weakly. On top of that we have the bureaucratic obstacles and the incomplete legal backup for this complicated process. I have to say too that Western firms are also displaying a somewhat cautious attitude to this. What is more, however strange this may seem at first glance, major firms are showing more caution than small and medium-sized ones. Maybe we should look to the small and medium-sized firms. Maybe we can still arrive at the great goal by small steps.

[Vedenyapin] Without doubt.

[Belyayev] There is another very interesting form that is less talked and written about in our country, but in my view it has great prospects. I am talking about the creation in the Soviet Union of joint venture zones in various regions—on the border, adjacent to the border, and even let's suppose within the Soviet Union itself.

[Vedenyapin] Incidentally, many people see this as a solution to the (?slow progress.)

[Kolchanov] This is stressed in the West very frequently even, and references are made to China for example.

[Belyayev] A decision was made recently to set up such a zone in the region of the Saymenskiy Kanal, between the Soviet Union and Finland. In the long run it is planned to set up such economic zones in the Far East, in the Baltic republics, and on the Black Sea coast. I would go in this direction much quicker.

[Kolchanov] But there are obstacles here too, Igor Petrovich. They are an absence of the necessary infrastructure, of procedures for really minimal taxation, of favorable credit terms, and finally of providing such zones with supplies of raw materials.

[Belyayev] This is an important issue, of course. And the lack of experience also obviously plays its part here. However, I think that we should create the most preferential conditions possible for such ventures.

[Kolchanov] And not be afraid of the difficulties, not focus one's attention on them maybe, but believe in the success of the enterprise.

[Vedenyapin] Well, summing up the results briefly. Two years have passed for the joint ventures with the West on the territory of the USSR, and these 2 years have coincided with radical changes in our country's domestic and foreign policies. Well, if one of the partners is beginning to move in the right direction one wonders why the other side should not follow the same example. I am talking about the same ill-fated Cocom [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls], that is well-known to all, whose prohibitive lists are now serving as a very serious brake on the path to the development of trade and economic links between the East and the West. And right now, while we are reducing our armed forces, for instance, on a unilateral basis, this argument is very much in vogue in the West too. Why it is asked shouldn't the United States and its allies abolish the export controls?

A conference will be held in Bonn this month of participant states in the Helsinki process on economic relations between East and West, and one wants to hope that despite resistance from certain circles, it will help open up new horizons for normalizing trade and economic relations between the West and the socialist countries.

The time for our program has come to an end. Thank you, listeners, for your attention. Thank you, goodbye, and all the best to you until we meet on the air waves again.

United States & Canada

Bush Views CFE; Continuing Policy Review Noted

PM0903110989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Forum Theme—Disarmament and Confidence"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Mar—Addressing a press conference on Tuesday, U.S. President G. Bush touched on questions being discussed at the Vienna meeting and dwelt on a number of problems of his administration's domestic and foreign policy.

He called the Vienna meeting of the heads of the U.S. and Soviet foreign policy departments "productive" and pointed out that, judging by reports from the Austrian capital, "there are some promising signs" on the way to resolving the problems under discussion. But, Bush added, "I have not yet read Secretary of State James Baker's report and I have not yet talked with him since his trip."

To the question of how we would respond to criticism of his administration, which has now been accused by some U.S. observers of doing nothing and of lacking clear goals, Bush said: "The analysis in the defense sphere and the analysis of foreign policy continue. And talk about our not having put forward bold new foreign policy proposals these 45 days will not stop me." The President made it clear that he does not intend to present new initiatives in the world arena until the current analysis is complete.

On the same day Bush had a meeting at the White House with Republican leaders of both chambers of the Congress. As stated by Marlin Fitzwater, official spokesman of the White House, the President discussed questions of foreign policy with the legislators. He said that his Administration's initial strategy was to establish working contacts with U.S. allies.

The administration, Fitzwater noted, expects to complete its analysis of foreign policy somewhere next month. Then it will be prepared to resume talks on strategic armaments and to discuss questions pertaining to a summit meeting. The latter will presumably be taken up during James Baker's visit to Moscow this May.

Baker Briefs Bush on Vienna Talks

LD0903093789 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 9 TASS—The U.S. President George Bush had a meeting this Wednesday at the White House with Secretary of State James Baker. The latter informed him about the results of his trip to Vienna for the meeting of foreign ministers of 33 European countries, as well as of the U.S. and Canada.

The White House Assistant Press-Secretary Roman Papadiuk said that this was the secretary of state's "regular meeting" with the President. Such meetings are usually held once a week. Their subject is not disclosed as a rule, Papadiuk told a TASS correspondent, but "I am sure that the secretary of state informed the President" about the meeting he had in Vienna with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, about the agenda of the Soviet-American talks they discussed, including Baker's forthcoming visit to Moscow this May. According to the White House spokesman, the talks at Vienna, which marked the resumption of the Soviet-American summit dialogue, "were fruitful", and the foreign ministers of both countries were looking forward to their continuation.

U.S. Should Push Israel on Mideast Conference

LD0703235389 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Albert Balebanov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

An EEC plenipotential delegation—the foreign ministers of Spain, France and Greece, held a meeting with U.S. Secretary of States James Baker in Vienna. They urged the United States to use its influence to convince Israel of the need to stop blocking convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under UN auspices.

Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, Roland Dumas and Karolos Papoulias made their plea soon after Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's speech at the Vienna meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 European states and the United States and Canada. Eduard Shevardnadze in his speech called for pooling the efforts of all permanent members of the UN Security Council, the UN secretary general and the European Communities to help the Middle Eastern peoples to bring peace to the region, to stop the arms race and switch from confrontation to cooperation. Somewhat earlier the three EEC representatives met PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat as well as the leaders of Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The negotiations reaffirmed the readiness of the PLO and the Arab countries to immediately work to prepare the conference.

One hundred and fifty Italian parliamentarians—representatives of practically all political parties submitted to parliament a draft resolution, which calls upon the Italian Government "to invigorate efforts towards the convocation of an international conference on a peace settlement in the Middle East" and the official recognition of the PLO-proclaimed Palestinian state. The Italian parliamentarians' move illustrates a West European tendency in favour of an early comprehensive, durable and fair solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The U.S. inactivity, Tel Aviv's refusal to speak with the PLO, Tel Aviv's attempts to impose upon the Palestinians a meager autonomy within "greater Israel", its desire to split the Palestinian ranks and form its "fifth column" are causing concern against the background of the peace efforts of the USSR, other socialist countries, West European states, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Arab states and the United Nations. Tel Aviv's course is devoid of prospects, but it delays a political settlement of the Middle East problem and prolongs the Palestinian people's suffering and does not bring a solution of the conflict in the region any closer.

Tel Aviv has become isolated within the international community and lost support even of its friends owing to its continued occupation of Arab lands, the despotic policy on these lands and the brutal suppression of Palestinian political and civil rights. It is regretful that in Tel Aviv they do not want to understand what has been understood the world over—that there is no alternative to reconciliation in the Middle East. The international community, including the United States, should spare no effort to see to it that realism prevails in Israel's policy.

China

'State of Siege' Declared in Tibetan Capital

OW0803132989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 8 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report over video]

[Text] We have received this report from Lhasa, administrative center of the Tibet Autonomous Region of China. [Video shows scene of people rioting in streets. Caption in Chinese reads: "Serious Disturbances in Lhasa."] Disturbances here continue unabated. Up to today, 12 people have been killed. The police were forced to open fire because the use of tear gas proved ineffective. The demonstration by the separatists was staged on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of mass protests against China's rule over this autonomous region. Then, 30 years ago, the Dalai Lama, spiritual leader of Tibet, and thousands of his followers escaped to India.

Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, signed an order on 7 March proclaiming a state of siege [osadnoye polozheniye] in the administrative center of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Rogachev Interviewed on USSR-PRC Relations

AU0903094489 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 2 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview "especially for SLOWO POWSZECHNE" with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev by NOVOSTI commentator Vladimir Markov: "USSR-PRC: The Summit Meeting and a New Kind of Relations"—date, place of interview not given]

[Text] A document is due to be adopted at the USSR-PRC summit in May. This document will establish the basis for a new kind of Soviet-Chinese relations. Through a joint effort, we can produce a document that will establish new principles of bilateral relations. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said this in an interview with NOVOSTI commentator Vladimir Markov.

[Markov] What does "a new kind of relations" between the USSR and PRC really mean?

[Rogachev] These relations will be established on the basis of today's reality, which is completely different from the previous reality, and which has been provided with new substance in our country and in the PRC.

That is why both countries have agreed not to return to the relations of the 1950's, when there was a military-political alliance between them. Neither will they return to the relations of the 1960's and 1970's. From now on, Soviet-Chinese relations will be based primarily on the principles of peaceful coexistence, noninterference in each other's domestic affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonuse of force, good-neighborliness, and friendship.

We agree that both sides are faced with the task of breaking with the past and entering the future. That is how Comrade Deng Xiaoping described these tasks in a talk with Eduard Shevardnadze. Moscow is drawing attention to the convergence between the new political thinking and the Chinese leader's ideas on the subject of a new international political order. This concept will also exert major influence on the future development of Soviet-Chinese relations. An exchange of experiences about the socioeconomic changes in both countries is assuming importance. Socialism's prestige depends to a major extent on the success of these changes.

[Markov] Apart from the consultations on the new joint document, what other consultations are there going to be before the summit?

[Rogachev] A meeting of a joint working team to resolve the situation in border areas, under the auspices of government teams, will commence in Moscow on 20 February. We achieved progress in solving this problem following the resumption of similar talks in 1987. An agreement was reached concerning most parts of the eastern sector of the Soviet-Chinese border. This time, the working groups are going to discuss the western sector. Although not all the problems can be solved before the summit, one can take another step toward resolving the situation in border areas.

The Soviet side has also suggested appointing a team of diplomatic and military experts to examine ways of reducing the level of military confrontation between the two countries and increasing confidence in the military sphere. This group could involve itself in developing rules governing military personnel reductions in border areas. However, it should soon be possible to introduce a system of mutual information on military training and movements in these areas and, on the basis of the joint document,

refrain from increasing military concentrations in these areas. Generally speaking, the conditions for absolute confidence along the Soviet-Chinese border exist.

[Markov] What are the immediate prospects for the development of mutual economic ties, especially in border areas?

[Rogachev] Let me give you an example: Last year alone, contracts involving cross-border trade worth a total of 1.3 billion Swiss francs were concluded. Such agreements are being concluded and implemented very efficiently thanks to the right of local enterprises and organizations to enter the foreign market.

Another example: The joint Soviet-Chinese commission on the use of the resources of the Amur and Ergun Rivers will prepare a series of projects, including the construction of dams and hydroelectric power stations to supply power to both sides of the rivers. This will permit a more rapid utilization of this huge and thinly populated region, which possesses huge resources.

I would also like to point out the favorable and complementary trade contacts between our countries. There was a major relaxation in visa formalities last year when visa-free visits for holders of diplomatic and official passports were made possible; and this has facilitated economic contacts. There are broad possibilities of expanding them even more, on the basis of equality and mutual advantages.

[Markov] What about student and tourist exchanges?

[Rogachev] Here as well the prospects are not bad. We have been observing a real tourist boom in China in recent years. Once the Alma Ata-Urumchi railroad line has been completed, the second railroad link to join Asia and Europe, it will be much easier for tourists from the USSR and other countries to visit China. Additional border crossings are going to be established along the Soviet-Chinese border, and these are going to process streams of tourists in both directions.

This year we are going to receive about 600 students and workers. Broad contacts between youth organizations have been re-established.

The Soviet people are receiving the improvements in Soviet-Chinese relations with a great deal of enthusiasm. However, this is only the beginning. Everything still lies ahead of us.

PRC Trade To Total 4.8 Billion Swiss Francs

OW0703154689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] The 1989 Soviet-Chinese protocol on barter trade and payments has been signed in Moscow. According to the provisions of the protocol, the trade volume of the two countries will reach 4.8 billion Swiss francs this year, an increase of 17 percent over the 1988 figure.

The export of machinery and equipment to China will make up 50 percent of the total Soviet exports. The supply of Soviet equipment for the construction of power stations and to replace components of previous projects will also increase.

Mutual cooperation in the form of direct contacts between enterprises and regional trade have made important contributions to Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

Increased Air Traffic with PRC Projected

LD0303230189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] One of the good changes taking place in the world today has been the recent improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC and the development of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. Our next report from Beijing is about one aspect of this.

[Correspondent V. Kulikov, identified by caption] The air link between the capitals of the Soviet Union and China is operating more intensively day-by-day. The broadening of cooperation between the two socialist countries has increased the load on this Aeroflot international route many times over. Sometimes an air ticket to Moscow or Beijing needs to be ordered several months in advance. The present frequency of flights cannot provide for the doubled stream of passengers and freight.

Talks have been held in Beijing about broadening cooperation between Aeroflot and the PRC Civil Aviation Directorate. They took place in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere, which is typical today of relations between the organizations of our countries.

[Begin recording] [Lu, head of the PRC Civil Aviation Directorate, identified by caption, in Mandarin with superimposed Russian translation] We held successful talks, I would call them comradely talks, with our Soviet colleagues. The main topic was broadening our cooperation. We transport workers of China wanted to (?take) the initiative. Evidently, the Beijing-Moscow-Beijing route is going to be a route of friendship and businesslike cooperation.

[V.N. Dvoryankin, general representative of Aeroflot in Beijing, identified by caption] I would call these talks thorough. Specifically, the frequency of Aeroflot flights in Beijing from Moscow will double. We will now have four flights a day. In addition, we have succeeded in reaching agreement on the opening of new air routes between our countries this year, specifically Khabarovsk-Harbin, Alma-Ata-Urumqi, and an entirely new route for which we have great hopesr: Moscow-Shanghai-Seoul, which will run three times a week. [end recording]

Commentator Sees 'Complete Normalization' With PRC

OW0903095189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From "Current Events and Commentaries" program; Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] RENMIN RIBAO recently reported that China's trade with the Soviet Union reached 130 million Swiss francs in 1988, quadrupling the planned target. What is the general situation of Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation and trade? Station observer Nikolayev writes:

We can say that the facts listed by the Chinese newspaper can show the general trend of Soviet-Chinese trade in recent years. The available statistics show that since early 1984, trade between the two countries has increased approximately tenfold. I think this is a big success.

Soviet and Chinese economists maintain that following the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations, it is only natural that trade between the two countries will grow even faster in the future. This is because the potentials in this area have not been fully tapped. This was clearly reiterated by Soviet Foreign Affairs Minister Shevardnadze during his recent visit to China.

The Soviet foreign minister pointed out on 2 February that the two countries must cooperate even further in economic areas and trade. When bilateral relations were discussed, both countries unanimously maintained that the USSR and China, as two big neighbors having enormous natural resources and potentials, should strengthen their economic cooperation several times more.

It is very clear that the USSR's reform in foreign economic activities and China's policy of expanding foreign relations have given a new impetus to developments in this regard. It should be noted that a solid foundation was laid for this last summer. I am referring to the accord reached by our two governments on establishing and developing economic relations and trade among departments and factories in various Soviet republics and their Chinese counterparts, and to the accord on the principles governing the establishment and operation of Soviet-Chinese factories. Preliminary successes have already been achieved in this respect as proved by the RENMIN RIBAO report mentioned above. The paper, for example, reported that (Heisenhe) City already has 50 partners in the USSR.

If we want to see future growth in Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation and trade, I think that, while developing traditional patterns, our two countries should exchange experiences in carrying out economic reform because such exchange will have increasingly greater significance. Reality requires us to do so.

Chinese Premier Li Peng noted during his meeting with Foreign Minister Shervadnadze that the two countries can enrich each other with their reform experiences and can supplement each other economically. The USSR fully endorses such a stand and will provide wide-ranging possibilities. We believe that the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations during the Soviet-Chinese summit scheduled for May will facilitate the full utilization of such possibilities.

Northeast Asia

'Team Spirit' Serves 'Militarist Purposes'

LD0803120489 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 8 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The announcement that the joint U.S.-South Korean exercise, Team-Spirit'89, was scheduled to take place in mid-March, became a new obstacle, raised by Washington and Seoul, in the way of efforts aimed at promoting the Korean dialogue. The termination of this large-scale exercise, which was urged by the North Korean side, could significantly advance preparations for a joint meeting of MPs and leaders of the North and South. This, undoubtedly, will help achieve greater accord on the main issue—the country's national reunification.

The Soviet Union believes that the annual "Team-Spirit" manoeuvres in South Korea serve militarist purposes, while sabre rattling on the border with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea further exacerbates the complex situation on the Korean Peninsula. Today when the question of terminating these manoeuvres became crucial for further development of the South Korean dialogue, the decision to hold them can be regarded as Washington's attempt to ignore the free expression of will of the North Korean side.

Voices of protest against the presence of American troops and nuclear weapons are heard in South Korea. This was demonstrated again by a decade of public protests against the American military presence held in late February on the initiative of opposition parties. Such feelings are easy to understand and explain. The division of Korea, which has continued for nearly four and a half decades, became not only the tragedy of its people but also the constant source of tensions in Asia. All these years the DPRK Government persistently exerted efforts to achieve detente on the Korean Peninsula and a peaceful solution to the question of unifying the country through dialogue and talks.

The initiatives advanced by Pyongyang are marked by a striving for talks. Such are the proposals on turning the Korean Peninsular into a nuclear-free zone, on the phased reduction of the Armed Forces of the North and

South and the pullout of American troops, on the political consultative meeting representing different political groups and the broad mass of the people. These proposals evoked wide international response.

The Soviet Union believes that the Korean dialogue should develop freely, without hindrances created by Washington and those in Seoul who are opposed to the unification of Korea.

'Team Spirit' Holds Up DPRK-ROK Talks

PM0903102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Sergey Tikhomirov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "No Results Yet"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 8 Mar—...The light went out at the very height of the verbal battles, when it seemed that passions were inflamed to the utmost. The microphones standing in front of the participants in the talks wheezed and "lost the gift of speech." The monitor journalists were using to follow the course of the second meeting to prepare for high-level military-political talks between North and South Korea went blank. And suddenly a voice rang out amid the deathly silence that suddenly fell: "This is all because of Team Spirit."

The joke probably did not quite come off, but all the journalists present evidently understood it, because it was precisely the U.S.-South Korean Team Spirit-89 maneuvers that were the reason the latest round of talks in Panmunjom did not produce any results.

Pyongyang's stand is well-founded: Such games hinder a productive North-South dialogue because their thrust is clearly aggressive in character.

As a rule it is in February that Seoul officially announces the start of the annual maneuvers in the Team Spirit series. This year, however, the announcement was "belated"—intentionally, I believe—although the overtly provocative games began a month ago. In my view, the reasons for such "belatedness" are obvious. The Seoul administration has been forced to reckon, first, with the fact that the holding of Team Spirit, objectively speaking, in no way tallies with its currently proclaimed principles for an inter-Korean dialogue. The exercises hold up the North-South talks and run counter to the Far East peoples' efforts aimed at improving the situation in the region. The participation of U.S. troops in the maneuvers merely fuels the flames of anti-Americanism—a fact that official Seoul also cannot ignore. The fact is that anti-U.S. sentiment is becoming increasingly widespread with every passing year.

The latest example is provided by U.S. President G. Bush's recent lightning visit to South Korea. According to Western journalists whom I have met in Panmunjom, the 5 and ½ hours that the master of the White House spent in Seoul showed that even at the official level the attitude to the guest from overseas was courteous and cool, not to mention the veritable squall of anti-U.S. protests by the South Korean public. And this is understandable, since Bush reaffirmed that the United States does not intend to withdraw its troops from the south of the peninsula in the foreseeable future.

...The enforced "blackout" in the negotiating hall owing to faults in the power system did not last long. After a few minutes the monitor screen lit up and the microphones found their voices again. The talks were continued, but produced no results. A pity, because we are talking about the innermost wish of any Korean, whether northern or southern, to bring nearer the day of unification for the divided nation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Repatriation of Vietnamese Boat People Reported

PM0703103989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent B. Vinogradov dispatch: "Returning Home"]

[Text] Hanoi—On 2 March an aircraft from Hong Kong landed at Hanoi International Airport with a group of Vietnamese refugees who had left the SRV illegally in search of a different life abroad—the "boat people," as the local press referred to them.

The agreement to dispatch the first group of repatriates consisting of 81 people was reached as a result of recent consultations between the SRV Government and the Hong Kong authorities with the assistance of the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. After long trials and tribulations in camps for displaced people on one of the islands near Hong Kong, unable to obtain an entry visa to another country or a local residence permit, these people declared voluntarily that they wanted to return to Vietnam to their families. As Vu Khoan, assistant to the SRV foreign minister, stated at a briefing in Hanoi, the Government of Vietnam took this step in an effort to contribute as much as possible to improvement of the situation in Southeast Asia, to show practical goodwill in the solution of all the region's problems by means of talks in the spirit of humanity, mutual understanding, and good-neighborliness.

Vu Khoan also noted that at present relations are developing between two groups of states—Indochina and ASEAN—which makes it possible to hope for favorable examination of all complex aspects of the refugee problem. These questions have been placed on the agenda of a special international conference opening in the capital of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

Burma's Political, Economic Situation Viewed

PM0803170589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Skvorstsov: "Winds Over the Irrawaddy"]

[Excerpt] Rangoon-Bangkok, Mar [dateline as received]—[passage omitted] While still in Rangoon, on the eve of my trip to Pagan and the Burmese interior, I received some characteristic information. On the eve of World War II, Burma, then a British colony, was sending one-half of all rice supplies to the world market. Last year rice exports amounted to around 500,000 tonnes. Compare that with neighboring Thailand, which sold 4 million tonnes. Of course, World War II and the independence struggle cost the Burmese dear. The Burmese economy is essentially in ruins.

But it is not only the legacy of the past that hangs over the current state of the Burmese economy. Certain innovations that accord neither with the people's national ways nor the objective conditions of life in the countryside, where most Burmese live, have had adverse consequences. For example, a law on cooperatives was adopted in Burma in 1970. Very soon it was reported "upstairs" that around 20,000 local cooperatives had been formed, involving more than 6 million peasants. Restrictions were also imposed on the free sale of rice on the domestic market. As a result, while neighboring countries introduced advanced, highly productive varieties everywhere, making for a "green revolution," harvests dwindled in Burmese fields. Whereas in the early sixties the country was selling 2 million tonnes of rice per year on foreign markets, in 1987 it sold no more than 600,000 tonnes. It was then that the government took the ill-considered decision to transfer all rice procurements to cooperatiives, but they were not prepared for this, either technically or politically. Thousands of tonnes of rice rotted in the rain. Speculators gained. The state and the workers lost out. In early 1988 separate measures were adopted to rectify the situation. But the damage had already been done.

The tumultuous events that occurred in the capital in August 1988 were presaged by news of peasants disobeying instructions to hand rice over to cooperative procurement personnel and even of uprisings in the provinces. The protracted political crisis culminated in a coup. On 18 September General Saw Maung, minister of defense in the Burma Socialist Program Party government and Armed Forces chief of general staff, announced the seizure of power by the State Council to restore law and order. Its members were military personnel. Parliament was dissolved, as were the government and people's councils at all levels. The future state structures, including parliament, would emerge, Saw Maung announced, after peace and public order had been completely restored. Democratic general elections were promised and permission was given for the creation of political parties. The Burma Socialist Program Party, which had ruled the country for 26 years, was renamed the National Unity Party in preparation for the elections.

Rangoon was hit by a spell of euphoria, with people setting up political parties and groupings, leagues and associations. General Saw Maung's State Council gave them until 28 February to register, after which the list of 233 parties, alliances, and various associations was closed. A draft law on democratic, multiparty, general parliamentary elections was drawn up by a special commission, and it was announced that elections would be held in 14 months' time. The draft was open to proposals and additions until 31 March.

...The driver waiting outside the entrance to the "Bazar Niaung-u" [name as transliterated] sighed with relief when he realized I did not intend to take any other transport. He was called Lyuin Ay [name as transliterated], a student at a Mandalay higher educational establishment, operating a relative's carriage in his spare time. Students at Burmese secondary schools have plenty of spare time these days. Education establishments have been closed since the fall for reasons of public order. Generally speaking, young people were the main instigators of the "revolts" that beset Rangoon, Mandalay, Sagaing, Moulmein, and other cities last year. Political parties were specially warned by the military administration of the need to refrain from appeals to students.

Parties and groupings were not allowed to carry out work in the villages, either. Local branches can show the flag, so to speak, only at city level. So it is difficult to say how the 16 million potential voters will be able to analyze the political programs of each of the candidates.

The National League for Democracy, headed by Suu Kyi, national hero Aung San's daughter, who is popular with the masses, is now seen as the most active Burmese oppposition party. It is reckoned that the league now has around 800,000 members. A recent tour of the Irrawaddy delta by its leaders clearly stirred the populace up. It is followed by the Democratic Party, the People's Democratic Party, the Democratic Front for National Restoration, the Party of Unity and Development, and the Antifascist League of People's Freedom. Some observers claim that a number of parties, leagues, and associations were set up by the National Unity Party to fragment the opposition in the fight for votes—if the elections take place.

But the Burmese worker's day is not wholly taken up by interest in political life, despite last year's cataclysm, when people were killed during street clashes. The main concern for Burmese today is their daily bread—that is, a bowl of rice. And it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain it. The general situation in the country, officially declared by the UN last March one of the poorest in the world, is the cause. [passage omitted]

Near East & South Asia

Najibullah Addresses Air Force Units

LD0803112789 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 8 TASS—Afghan President Najibullah met on Tuesday active members of the Air Force and air defense troops from the garrisons of Kabul, Baghram, Shindand, Qandahar and Balkh. The Afghan leader said that in conditions of continuing aggression from outside the fighters of the Air Force and air-defenses show examples of true heroism and selfless loyalty to the motherland in battles against intractable opposition. After the complete withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the task of defending territorial integrity, national sovereignty and political independence of the Afghan state was entrusted to the national Armed Forces which already scored a number of major victories over rebel groups in Qandahar, Zabol, Laghman and Kunduz Provinces and on the Salang lifeline. Not so long ago, Najibullah continued, the Western mass media declared that after the Soviet withdrawal the rebels will have no difficulty in establishing their control over some cities and whole regions of Afghanistan. However, they have to admit today that opposition cannot win a military victory.

The Afghan Government consistently pursues the policy of national reconciliation relying not on the continuation of armed confrontation but on a balanced political dialogue with all sides interested in the political settlement. However, aware of the great responsibility for the fate of the Afghan people, we will allow no one to shed the blood of innocent children, women and old people, Najibullah stressed.

The peaceful internal policy, pursued by the current Afghan leadership, already yields its fruits. People trust those who sincerely strive for an end to the fratricide and bloodshed. Those who want to turn Afghan territory into a battlefield feel ground disappear under their feet, the president said in conclusion.

Kabul Airport Shelled; Clashes Reported

LD0903132389 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov and Yuri Tyssovsky:

The Afghan opposition fired rockets at Kabul International Airport on Wednesday, killing four people.

Sixteen rockets exploded near airliners of the Afghan commerical carrier Ariane just as one was preparing for take-off. No military aircraft were at the airport at the time of the attack.

Several rockets fell on a car park in front of the entrance to the airport. Two women, a small child and a man were killed.

A direct hit completely destroyed a boutique. Serveral warehouses were damaged.

Also on Wednesday, the opposition fired heavy artillery at security outposts and populated localities on the road between Saowbi district and Jalalabad.

Government army artillery retaliated by striking at rebel bases. Fifteen extremists were killed and nine injured.

Another nine rebels were killed during an army offensive in the area of Tor Kotal in Qandahar Province.

A convoy carrying arms and ammunition from Pakistan to opposition groups operating inside Afghanistan was destroyed in Laghman Province, BAKHTAR News Agency reported. It said that 15 guards and two foreign military instructors escorting the convoy were killed in the ambush.

The opposition suffered considerable personnel losses in Baghlan Province.

A 50-strong group laid down their arms and joined the government side in Balkh Province.

According to reports reaching here, General Amam, deputy chief of Pakistani intelligence, held a meeting with military representatives of Afghan counter-revolutionary groups led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, Yunis Khalis, Burhanuddin Rabbani and 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf in Peshawar several days ago.

He pledged the assistance of his service in their subversive activity against the Afghan Government.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent four more protest notes to UN monitors in Kabul, citing further Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements.

Afghan Rebels Rocket Kabul Residential Areas

LD0803165389 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 8 TASS—Irreconcilable opposition groups rocketed residential districts in the Afghan capital Wednesday, killing one person and inflicting heavy damage on the structures.

Another person was gravely injured and taken to hospital.

Afghan Foreign Ministry Summons Pakistani
LD0803173789 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 8 TASS—Pakistan's charge d'affaires was summoned to the Afghan Foreign Ministry Wednesday where he was made a resolute protest over an act of direct aggression against Afghanistan.

The Foreign Ministry's statement said that four Pakistani Air Force helicopters today entered Afghanistan's air space and delivered Afghan opposition groups and a considerable amount of armaments and munitions to the Ghaziabad area, following which they returned to their base in Pakistan.

The Foreign Ministry demanded that Pakistani authorities immediately stop subversive actions building up tension in relations between the two neighbouring countries.

New Violence Among Afghan Rebels Reported
LD0803131689 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 08 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 8 TASS—Personnel of the Afghan Ministry of State Security have discovered another cache of arms here.

The cache, in the Shawak District, contained land-to-land missiles and several kilograms of TNT meant for terrorist acts against Kabul residents, the BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

In the past 24 hours, opposition forces have opened fire at security outposts and villages in Sorkh Dival and Tamarheil [spelling as received] districts of Nangarhar Province and shelled the cities of Herat and Gardeyz with rockets. Luckily, there have been no casualties.

Government forces killed 16 extremists during a strike at rebel strongholds in Parvan Province and 15 more persons in Qandahar Province.

There have been reports about a fresh outbreak of violent clashes between feuding opposition groups of different orientation in Nangarhar, Nurestan, Farah, Herat, Balkh and Badakhshan provinces where dozens of rebels were killed and wounded.

Notes sent by Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry to the UN observers' mission in Kabul cite fresh evidence of Pakistan violating the Geneva accords.

Mujahidin Blamed for Indiscriminate Mine-Laying
AU0803150289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Mar 89 p 3

[Unattributed NOVOSTI report "especially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI": "Mines in Afghanistan, a No-Man's-Land of Lies"]

[Text] "The reduced contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan and the Afghan Army did not have the combined potential to install between 5 and 30 million mines in Afghanistan," said Major General Viktor Kutsenko of the Soviet engineering forces in an interview for NOVOSTI. Kutsenko spent 3 years in Afghanistan as a military adviser. "Such 'statistics' and other information contained in a verbal memorandum from the U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations and in a report by a group of three so-called independent consultants are nothing other than an attempt to lead international society astray.

"I wish to make it clear that in accordance with our strategy, mines in Afghanistan could only be used for local defense purposes. With the approval of the Army command, they were laid in order to prevent rebel actions against Soviet and Afghan army installations—airports, military settlements, depots, and posts. At the request of Afghanistan, mines were also laid beside major roads, tunnels, bridges, pipelines, power lines, and other protected economic installations. If they had not been laid, many of these facilities would be in ruins today. Sabotage of civilian installations was and still is a favorite tactic of the armed rebels, who are trying to create chaos and confusion in the country at any price. There was no "saturation" minelaying. The mine fields laid by Soviet soldiers are cordoned off and marked by notice boards in the Dari and Pashto languages. So everything conforms to international regulations, including those contained in the 1981 convention that bans or restricts the use of certain types of conventional weapons that might be considered as causing excessive damage or whose explosive power is multidirectional. One should also remember that all minelaying ceased after 15 May 1988, when the reduced contingent of Soviet forces began to be withdrawn from Afghanistan. Every single mine field ever laid by our sappers possesses special documentation that shows the location and time of mining. The firm majority of the 2,131 mine fields have already been neutralized. At the request of the Afghan Army, essential documents about mined regions have been transferred to the Afghan command, which will itself decide which mine fields to retain and which ones to neutralize.

"In Afghanistan, the Soviet forces mainly used antipersonnel mines, which are easy to defuse. These are of the induction type, in a metal housing, and placed on the surface of the soil. They were set to self-destruct from 1 and ½ to 2 months after they had been placed. Where aerial resources and artillery were used for mining, small mines were laid, set to self-destruct after 48 hours.

However, as far as so-called boobytraps are concerned, accusations that these were laid as well are groundless. The USSR does not manufacture such mines, and the Soviet Army does not have any in its arsenals. The Afghan Army does not have any, either. Therefore, one can say in all certainty that the Soviet mines are not a danger to civilian settlements in Afghanistan, and do not prevent the hundreds of thousands of refugees from leaving neighboring countries and returning to their homeland.

"The accusations about the dangerous mining of Afghanistan, contained in the report of the 'independent consultants' and addressed to the USSR, should be addressed to the Afghan rebels instead," said the Soviet general. "It is they who have been and still are carrying out chaotic mining operations in Afghanistan according to the principle 'the more, the better.' They have not had any and still do not have any maps to guide them. According to Afghan intelligence, the rebels are laying about 180,000 mines a year deep below the soil. They include Italian plastic mines that are very difficult to detect without maps. Rebel groups often defend their spheres of influence by laying mines in the most unexpected places, and they use mines easily obtainable by the local populations. Women, children, and elderly people die as a result.

"An already tragic situation is made even worse by the fact that the rebels use boobytraps. These are radio receivers, flashlights, toys, and other articles stuffed with explosives. In 1987, in a captured area of rebel resistance near Khost, I myself saw a whole case of mini-booby-traps in the form of ballpoint pens. There were between 400 and 500 of them. Beside them were antitank and antivehicle mines, all of Italian manufacture. Every year, the Soviet forces seized up to 60,000 mines from rebel depots, and unearthed another 20,000-35,000.

"There is a military term called 'no-man's land.' These are areas saturated with mines. That is what the subject of mines in Afghanistan has become. How many propaganda bombs of lies on this subject have been planted in the West, which are now 'blowing' international public opinion apart. There is no point in blaming everything on the Soviet forces. Instead, one should consider how to defuse the hundreds of thousands of mines the Soviet forces did not lay. This ought to be the subject of a report. The Soviet Union is ready to take active part in neutralizing mined areas or training Afghans to do it.

Afghan Foreign Minister's India Visit Viewed

PM0803141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Mar 89 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Oleg Kitsenko's "Correspondent's Comment": "Dialogue Needed"]

[Text] Delhi—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil's visit to India and his talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and also with other Indian leaders, have reaffirmed the strength of the traditional friendship between the two countries and their profound commitment to a peaceful solution of the Afghan problem.

'Abdul Wakil handed Rajiv Gandhi a personal message from Afghan President Najibullah which contained a request for economic and humanitarian aid and that influence be exerted on Pakistan to get it to refrain from interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and to implement the Geneva agreements. India, an official spokesman for the Indian Foreign Ministry said, has agreed in principle to grant Afghanistan humanitarian and technical aid.

The interest shown in the Afghan foreign minister's visit is perfectly understandable because, as the newspaper THE TIMES OF INDIA rightly wrote the other day, "India's own interests and those of the entire region demand a peaceful transitional period in Kabul."

Unfortunately, mujahidin groups based in Pakistan and the foreign forces behind them are hindering the peaceful solution of the problem by refusing any compromise with the government. The unconstructive approach of the "seven-member alliance," based in Peshawar, is in part due to the inordinate ambition of its leaders, which is encouraged by advice and assistance from extremist circles of the Pakistani military and Washington. It is perfectly clear, political circles in Delhi note, that these forces have not yet abandoned the dream of overthrowing the Kabul government by military force.

Indian public opinion is urging common sense and a search for a solution of the Afghan problem taking into account today's realities. And the state of affairs shows, the Indian media note, that hopes that the government in Kabul would fall following the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan were without foundation. The Indian press particularly emphasizes 'Abdul Wakil's statement at a news conference here Monday to the effect that the Afghan Armed Forces are able to defend Afghanistan's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and that the United States and Pakistan have not achieved their aims in aiding the rebels.

There is another, equally important aspect of the problem to which people here draw attention when talking about the impossibility of a solution of the Afghan question through confrontation with the government. It is disorder in the ranks of the "irreconcilables," the incompatibility of the interests of the various opposition groupings, and the consequent inability to offer an alternative to the Kabul government. All this was convincingly demonstrated by the attempt to create a "government of Afghanistan" entirely out of opposition representatives at the shura in Rawalpindi, where the Pakistan-based mujahidin groupings were unable to come to an agreement among themselves.

There is one way out of the situation. Mutual consideration of the interests of all sides is needed. It is necessary to create a representative government involving the PDPA.

"If Hikmatyar and the riffraff surrounding him managed to win," the well-known Indian writer Ashok Mithra says, "Afghanistan would sink back into the darkness of the Middle Ages."

Indian political and public circles welcome the realistic and constructive stance of the Najibullah government. This stance was reaffirmed at the news conference by the Afghan foreign minister. All sides, including Pakistan, he said, must discharge their obligations under the Geneva agreements and all mujahidin groups in Pakistan and Iran must return to the country and participate in the national reconciliation process, in dialogue, and in the creation of a representative government. 'Abdul Wakil also welcomed the democratic changes in Pakistan and expressed his government's readiness to discuss with Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto the whole Afghan settlement problem, since, as he said, both governments want to develop and strengthen democracy in their countries.

The Afghan foreign minister's visit to India and the continuation of consultations between the two governments are a positive new step in the Afghan settlement process. Afghanistan, 'Abdul Wakil said, values the solidarity shown by India, its traditional friend. India has an important part to play in the solution of the Afghan problem.

CPSU's Makhamov Addresses Indian Communists
PM0903100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent V. Baykov dispatch: "At Indian Communists Forum"]

[Text] Calcutta, 7 Mar—At the 14th Communist Party of India [CPI] Congress, delegates and foreign guests have heard a main report on the political situation in the country and the world, a report on the party's activities following the 13th CPI Congress in Patna in 1986 (main speaker Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the CPI National Council), the congress' draft political resolution (main speaker Deputy General Secretary Indrajit Gupta), and a report on organizational work.

The main report noted that in the period between congresses, important positive changes have taken place in the international situation: The constructive approach adopted by the Soviet leadership headed by M. Gorbachev, the numerous initiatives by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, the growing strength of the worldwide movement for peace—including in the capitalist countries—and the powerful voice of the nonaligned countries have forced imperialism to somewhat curb the arms race. The profound processes taking place in the Soviet Union, restructuring, glasnost, and new political thinking, the report went on to say, are having a profound impact not only on Soviet society but on the international situation as a whole.

The report and draft political resolution point out that the Indian National Congress-Indira government headed by R. Gandhi is pursuing a progressive foreign policy. Over the last few years India's international prestige has grown still further. India has a clear-cut position on nuclear disarmament. The Delhi Declaration signed by M. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi and relating to the principles of building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world is of abiding international importance. The further development of economic ties with the USSR and the new horizons of cooperation—particularly in new technology—are of great value to India. They open up for India the prospect of further economic growth and increasing employment. India's foreign policy course is correct, and the CPI unites with all the country's peace-loving and democratic forces—including Congress-I—in supporting it.

The sections of the report and the draft political resolution pertaining to the domestic political situation in India note the major and, in recent years, increasingly serious difficulties in the national economy. These difficulties are associated with the country's capitalist development.

The problems facing the country, the documents conclude, cannot be resolved within the framework of the existing socioeconomic system in India. In order to successfully protect the people's interests, the documents state, it is necessary to set up an alternative government of the democratic left.

A considerable proportion of the documents is devoted to the need to broadly unite the country's left-wing and democratic forces. A whole section of the main report is given over to the problem of achieving unity in the communist movement in India. During the period covered by the report, relations between the CPI and the Communist Party of India-Marxist have improved. The parties have undertaken a number of joint actions.

Today the morning session of the 14th CPI Congress was addressed by K. Makhkamov, head of the CPSU delegation, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. He conveyed Soviet Communists' cordial fraternal greetings and best wishes for successful work to the congress delegates.

The CPSU and the CPI have long enjoyed relations of fraternal friendship and solidarity, the head of the CPSU delegation said. Our parties are united by a common approach to the fundamental problems of world politics and the international movement. We make a high assessment of the CPI's support for Soviet peace initiatives and its contribution to the cause of strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship.

Today, K. Makhkamov went on to say, the CPSU and the entire Soviet people are involved in the enormous job of bringing about the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society and renewing the very idea of socialism.

The transformations in the Soviet Union, K. Makhkamov went on to say, are organically linked to the CPSU's international policy. The challenge of the time has led us into new political thinking, and the spirit of this approach pervades all the peace-loving Soviet initiatives put forward by the Soviet leadership recently—in particular, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's December speech to the United Nations.

There is a trend toward finding political solutions to regional conflicts. The USSR has fulfilled its Geneva pledges. With the goodwill and agreement of the Afghan leadership it has completely withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. We will continue to promote a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Afghan question and we hope that other countries will make their contribution to this too.

The head of the CPSU delegation stressed that the USSR and India and the close collaboration and cooperation between them play a special role in reducing international tension and improving the political climate in the world.

K. Makhkamov read out the text of the CPSU Central Committee greetings message to the 14th CPI Congress. The message was warmly welcomed by the congress delegates. He also presented a memorial gift to the 14th CPI Congress from the CPSU Central Committee—a portrait of V.I. Lenin by the painters of Fedoskino.

The congress continues.

Shevardnadze, Andreotti Cited on Mideast Issues

PM0703165589 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 7 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[Zaki Musa report: "Shevardnadze and Andreotti Tell AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: 'Peace Opportunities Are Encouraging' and 'No Alternative to International Conference'"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti have stated that their countries will continue to make intensive efforts to promote a just peace and an acceptable solution to the Middle East problem. Answering a question by AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, Shevardnadze said that recent developments are encouraging and that the impression he got from all the parties concerned was that peace in the region is one of the main issues to which a solution must be found.

Asked how such a solution could be achieved, Shevardnadze said it must be achieved through an international conference supervised by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Andreotti, speaking after the first session of the conference on European peace and security which began in Vienna yesterday morning, shared his Soviet counterpart's emphasis on the need to find a solution to the Middle East conflict, which affects not only the states around the area of conflict and the states directly involved in it, but also the Mediterranean littoral states.

Andreotti told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the continuation of the intifadah has confirmed beyond any doubt that Israel is present in territories that are not its own against the will of the people, and that the only way to stop the violence, which only claims innocent victims, is to give the Arab inhabitants the right to determine their own fate and establish their own state.

Andreotti said Italy would continue its efforts with the parties concerned in the interest of finding a solution to the problem and that, as in the past when it played host to leaders of a number of states and heard their views, it would invite them again if it thought that was appropriate.

Concluding his statement, Andreotti said he hoped the relaxation between the two superpowers in particular and the two European blocs in general would reflect on the Middle East, which deserves a share of that relaxation. [passage omitted]

'Arafat Cited on Demilitarized Palestinian State

PM0803141989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Shooting Without Warning"]

[Text] Beirut, 7 Mar—The wave of mass demonstrations in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip continues. More than 20 Palestinians and Israeli soldiers were wounded in just one day during clashes in which firearms were used. The occupiers have been carrying out massive swoops and searches in Nablus. Troops were ordered to fire without warning on anyone climbing onto a roof or leaning out of a window.

Against the backdrop of the exacerbating confrontation between the occupying forces and the Palestinian population, an important event took place that shows that there are healthy forces in Israeli society advocating a just and peaceful settlement of the Near East problem. Activists from the Israeli "Peace Now" movement succeeded in breaking through army cordons the other day and holding rallies and meetings with the inhabitants of a number of Arab population centers.

Meanwhile, an Israeli Government spokesman, according to news agency reports, stated that PLO leader Y. 'Arafat had expressed readiness to meet with Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir to discuss the question of

demilitarization of the Palestinian state that would emerge on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and the siting on its territory of multinational UN observer forces.

At the same time, Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee and head of the Palestinian side at the talks with the United States in Tunis, said the PLO will have to make the talks serious and official. He accused the United States of avoiding such talks and creating merely a semblance of dialogue with the PLO.

East Europe

Ligachev Begins Working Visit to CSSR

Departs Moscow 8 March

LD0803143489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, left Moscow today on a working visit to Prague. He was invited by the CPCZ Central Committee.

At the airport he was seen off by Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and by other officials.

Arrives in Prague

LD0803172189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1652 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Prague, 8 Mar (TASS)—Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived here on a working visit today at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. At the airport, he was met by J. Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; F. Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; J. Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food; and other officials. Among the welcoming party was V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Eastern Slovakia Receives Soviet Television

LD0503173189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1219 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Bratislava, 5 Mar (TASS)—One-fifth of the entire population of eastern Slovakia bordering our country can now watch Soviet television's first program. With the beginning of test broadcasts from the town of Spisska Nova Ves in the East Slovak region, four Soviet television transmitters have begun operating. Other stations are located in Kosice, Presov, and Stara Lubovna.

The domestic system of reception-transmitter television stations is also developing in the East Slovak region. In the region, whose mountain relief hampers transmission, the installation of new retransmitters and the replacement of obsolescent equipment means that television signals for Czechoslovak television's first program are received by more than 99 percent of the population. The second Slovak program is now received by 86 percent of the population in the region.

Aboymov, Polish Counterpart Hold Warsaw Talks

LD0803094689 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw March 7 TASS—There were consultations between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboymov and Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Boleslaw Kaulski in Warsaw on March 6-7. They exchanged opinions on bilateral relations during the talks held in a friendly and informal atmosphere.

Special attention was given to implementing by the two countries the provisions of the joint Soviet-Polish statement signed during Mikhail Gorbchev's visit to Poland in July 1988 and the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in ideology science and culture.

They also examined several urgent international questions.

A protocol on cooperation between the Soviet and Polish Foreign Ministries was signed for 1989.

Ivan Aboymov was received by Josef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Polish Talks 'Beset With Difficulties'

PM0803125989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Moving Away From the 'Wailing Wall'"]

[Text] Warsaw—The sessions devoted to the discussion of problems in the working groups and subgroups of the Warsaw "roundtable" have been going on for a month now. They are constantly accompanied either by strikes or by juvenile street disturbances in a number of cities, which are heavily interspersed with hooliganism and anti-Sovietism. This is the work of radical opposition groupings which shrink from nothing in order to prevent a successful outcome of the "roundtable."

The sessions are beset with difficulties. Thus, a very unpleasant incident occurred during a session of the subgroup on problems of health care. The delegation of the National Trade Union Alliance (OPZZ) was forced to leave the hall since "Solidarity" objected to having a cochairman from the "official" trade unions sitting at the same table. Why? The opposition leaders are constantly trying to create the impression that there are only two sides in the "roundtable" talks—the government, and the side which they represent. This is evidence not

just of failure to understand but of unwillingness to accept the essence of the "roundtable"—namely that representatives of all the social forces are gathered around the table. Meanwhile the opposition elite is persistently trying to present itself as the mouthpiece of the interests of all of society. It seems not to have occurred to them that the OPZZ delegation is acting on behalf of 7 million trade union members, on behalf of the country's biggest social organization.

The past month has failed to produce any specific results, although it has shown that on certain problems positions have drawn closer. However, many people are becoming increasingly impatient and concerned lest the "roundtable" become a continuous discussion club, lest the most urgent national problems be drowned in emotional disputes about trifles, partial issues, and insults. Has the "roundtable" not been converted into a "wailing wall?"—J. Kaniecki, a lathe operator from Bydgoszcz, asks in TRYBUNA LUDU.

During the meeting between General C. Kiszczak and L. Walesa it was decided to appeal to the "roundtable" participants to speed up the work in the groups and subgroups so the second plenary session could be held in the second half of March, at the selfsame oak table which has been deserted for a month now.

What, in the view of the government side, are to be the priorities? Professor J. Reykowski, cochairman of one of the working groups, has cited above all the practical implementation of the principle of political pluralism, and that means the recognition and legitimization of the opposition, the holding of nonconfrontational elections to the Sejm, opposition participation in representational organs, and trade union plus social pluralism, that is, the creation of conditions for a voluntary association of citizens in all kind of organizations and societies. Added to this must be free access to the news media for all, a legal reform, new opportunities and a new role for local self-management, and the introduction of a new type of ownership—communal ownership, providing for the financial independence of the organs of power at local level.

The proposals submitted by opposition representatives also contain some positive elements. On behalf of the opposition Professor B. Geremek, cochairman of a working group, has noted that a failure of the "roundtable" would clear the way for those forces which regard national accord as a mistake. This is a valuable statement. He declared himself in favor of a depoliticization of the economy, social life, education, science, and culture. Will these spheres become politically neutral? Opinions on this point are not unanimous. After all, when speaking about depoliticization, people are thinking above all of curbing the influence of the PZPR. However, to be objective, it would be necessary to put up barriers also in the path of the influence of "Solidarity" and the church.... No one should forget the fundamental truth: It can only be a question of improving socialism, not a question of dismantling it.

MSZMP Approach to 'Alternative' Groups Noted

PM0803131989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the general heading: "Life of Fraternal Parties"]

[Text] Budapest, 7 Mar—The MSZMP is holding regular meetings, consultations, and talks with representatives of alternative groups, organizations, and parties. The aim is to exchange information, discuss plans, abolish distrust, and find ways of cooperating.

MSZMP Central Committee apparatus staffers mainly raise three subjects at such discussions. First, next year's elections to the Hungarian State Assembly and local councils are discussed. What will be the best way of holding the elections? What common programs could be put forward and drawn up? Second, the proposals for a new Hungarian constitution—a draft of which has been published—are analyzed. Third and finally, there are discussions about economic problems.

These consultations, in the MSZMP Central Committee's opinion, should ultimately result in the creation of a standing Forum for Political Agreements.

The question of convening a constituent assembly is being debated particularly fiercely. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, one of the largest alternative organizations, is essentially calling for the current Hungarian State Assembly to be dissolved. The Small Farmers Party and a number of other organizations share the position of the MSZMP, which opposes extreme steps. Announcing its creation, the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party is still working out its political stance, but states that it will hold talks with MSZMP Central Committee staffers "in the interests of ensuring that the transition to parliamentary democracy based on a multiparty system and the drafting of the constitution are based on cooperation among constructive social forces."

Ceausescu Addresses Economic Conference

PM0703125189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "N. Ceausescu Speech"]

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Mar—Labor productivity and the financial and economic indicators achieved since the beginning of this year may be called good, although we cannot be entirely satisfied with the way national economic activity has developed during this period, RCP Secretary General N. Ceausescu pointed out at a working conference on economic issues held at the RCP Central Committee here.

The production of more expensive output at the cost of reducing the range should be regarded, he continued, as a violation of the law on the state plan. It is necessary to eradicate the emerging trends of figure padding and misinforming the center.

Touching on certain aspects of foreign trade activity, N. Ceausescu pointed to the need to develop cooperation within the CEMA framework and to utilize the potential of all the member countries to resolve comprehensive problems of socioeconomic development in each of them. Romania will expand its cooperation within the CEMA framework with all socialist countries.

Speaking of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee decision to complete the rise in working people's wages 1 month before the planned time, the Romanian leader emphasized that this measure has been made possible thanks to the country's ongoing socioeconomic development.

While noting that the present democratic system ensures the entire people's participation in the management of society and in the formulation of domestic and foreign policy, N. Ceausescu pointed out that it must be constantly improved.

Berlin Meeting Promotes Search for War Dead

PM0803115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "Duty of the Living"]

[Text] Berlin, 3 Mar—The Soviet Science and Culture Center in Berlin today hosted an organizational session of the "None Forgotten, Nothing Overlooked" club. It includes representatives of the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters, the political directorates of the GDR National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, experts from the two countries, journalists, and Captain V. Sharnikov, who for several years has been doing much work on his own initiative to systematize information on the Soviet war dead.

The new club's purpose is to reduce to the minimum the list of Soviet officers and men posted "missing in action" or "unknown soldiers" killed during the Great Patriotic War, prisoners of war, and German antifascists.

Newspaper Exchange on GDR Socialism Featured

PM0803163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Feature prepared by PRAVDA correspondent in Berlin M. Podklyuchinnikov comprising abridged reprints of articles by TRYBUNA LUDU and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND under the rubric "In The Newspapers": "Restructuring GDR-Style"; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND recently reprinted from Poland's TRYBUNA LUDU an article by the newspaper's correspondent in Berlin entitled "Restructuring GDR-Style. Consistency and Renewal"

Then the SED Central Committee organ published its own article on this topic under the headline "What Is the Meaning of Socialism GDR-Style?"

We are publishing these articles with some abridgments.

TRYBUNA LUDU

One of Stalinism's ill-starred illusions, TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent wrote, was that the building and further development of socialism is bounded by a number of magic formulas. The communist party should above all be the collective custodian of this "sacred flame," notably when its flame is clearly dying down. This was the situation in our country. It was described as stagnation in the Soviet Union. Is that the kind of situation we are dealing with in the GDR at present? An objective and attentive observer of the GDR's development must answer this question in the negative. I will try to justify this in any case, with examples of the changes taking place in the life of our Western neighbor.

The significance of socialism here was linked with the readiness to break with the criminal past in the most consistent fashion, notably by joining together in a fraternal alliance with the country which had hitherto been seen as the greatest enemy—the USSR.

There is not the slightest doubt that socialism in the GDR, at least in its initial stages, was above all a means of extirpating the cancerous tumor of fascism. Today—understandably—the correlation has changed. However, antifascist trends are invariably one of the main features of socialism in the GDR, and they are guarded like relics, notably when the past and future of socialism are at issue. Attempts to correlate Hitler's crimes with Stalin's crimes or to underline the mistakes made by the German left are refuted here.

The slogan that still stalks the world and is repeated on any pretext, to the effect that this state only exists temporarily and that its sovereignty is fictitious, is a particularly important factor for understanding "restructuring in the GDR." It is worth mentioning that it has bee 15 years since both German states were accepted into the United Nations and 40 years since the foundation of the GDR. This state now has broad ties with many dozens of countries throughout the world.

The formation and development of the GDR illustrate the objective strengthening of socialist forces and socialism's influence in postwar Europe and the extension of this influence to the Elbe. Attempts to reverse the course of history or at least call into question the stability of the current situation have dogged the GDR throughout its 40-year history. The legitimacy of the international legal foundations for this state's creation are now being questioned—as has also clearly been the case hitherto. Under these conditions, consolidating the public awareness of the irreversibility of the socialist transformations within the country is one of the most important processes, yet

there is restricted scope for systemic experiments. Although the need for renewal is acknowledged, nonetheless the importance of consistency is always indicated. At the Seventh SED Central Committee Plenum the Politburo report said the following on this subject: "We must never lose sight of our goal—to further create and build a developed socialist society. We must always be ready for innovation, head toward our goal under any conditions, and advance consistently along the path we have mapped out It is always a question of unity in consistency and renewal."

One of the specific features of restructuring in the GDR stems from the fact that two independent German states exist and, although they have a common national past, belong to different social systems and two opposing military blocs in Europe. From the very outset the GDR's development was, so to speak, countered by the FRG's development. The more persistently the desire to reunite Germany, enshrined in the Constitution, is stressed on the Rhine, the more marked is the opposition on the Spree.

Many of Erich Honecker's speeches on the concept of unification with the FRG repeated the following: "Socialism and capitalism are as impossible to combine as fire and water." The stability of socialist solutions is more significant in this context than anywhere else. The further elaboration or modernization of these solutions is also regarded here as an inevitable and consistent process.

If one does not forget that this state was for many years denied the right to independent development, it .s even more understandable that the debate underway in the country on differences in the socialist system began by singling out what has been achieved so far. The citizens of the GDR lead a relatively good life. Despite all the difficulties, economic potential that carries weight in Europe has developed in this traditionally backward area of Germany. It encompasses a gamut of the most modern sectors.

The most important conclusion drawn by the GDR's leading representatives in their speeches from the strengthening of the state and the economy hitherto is as follows: Worker-peasant power has proved that it can control the development of a modern industrial state. At the same time the realization that preserving the lead depends increasingly on restructuring's capacity for change and progress is relatively widespread today in various circles of GDR society. The volume and rates of these changes, the type of change, the methods for implementing them, and the opportunities and dangers are all closely linked with the special position of this country, this party, and this society, and all this determines the nature of restructuring in the GDR.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND

What does socialism GDR-style mean? We understand this as the socialist society based on the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which we have built by our common efforts in the 40 years since the foundation of the GDR and which we are developing further along the path outlined by the SED program. This concept incorporates both the inalienable foundations of any socialist society and specific national features.

Socialism GDR-style constitutes the power of the working class in alliance with peasant cooperative workers, the intelligentsia, and other working people, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, public ownership of the crucial means of production, and the deliberate and systematic building of a society in which the principle of remuneration according to labor is employed consistently and socialist ideology prevails. This also means socialism on German soil, with the rich traditions of the revolutionary workers movement and an experienced working class.

It also incorporates the idea that unity and multilateral interdependence in economic and social policy have been the crucial factors in development for a long time. Central state planning and personal initiative in combines and enterprises interact together. There is full employment, high material and cultural living standards that are constantly rising, social security, stable prices for necessities, rents, extensive education, free health care, and a large program of housing construction.

The characteristic features of socialism in the GDR consist of a multiparty system, comradely collaboration between the party and mass organizations within the framework of the National Front, the traditionally considerable role of the trade unions and the Socialist Youth League, a well-developed cooperative system, the inclusion of artisans and craftsmen from the outset in socialist building, broadly developed socialist democracy encompassing more than 200 public organizations, the socialist rule-of-law state, and a lively and colorful cultural and spiritual life. Socialism GDR-style means that people can lead a good life here.

Our socialism is also characterized by the fact that it has been built in close fraternal alliance and comradely cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and by the fact that we are in central Europe—on the line of demarcation between social systems and military blocs. Consequently, under conditions of openness, we have many millions of tourists and Western television programs—a total of 11—and 34 radio programs, which do not have a very approving attitude toward worker-peasant power on German soil. Under these conditions stability, economic and social dynamics, and reliable defense of socialism are of particular significance for the GDR, for world socialism, and for our continent.

Socialism in the GDR is notable for its active actions advocating peace, disarmament, and international solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces.

That is why we want to build socialism GDR-style under favorable international conditions; we see our task as ensuring that the threat of war never again emanates from German soil.

West Europe

Lukyanov Meets Luxembourg Crown Prince

PM0803114789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ties Developing"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received on 7 March in the Kremlin Crown Prince Henri of Luxembourg and his wife Princess Maria Theresa, who are in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A warm and friendly conversation took place, during which A.I. Lukyanov talked about the transformations taking place in Soviet society affecting all spheres of people's life. The attention of the eminent Luxembourg guests was drawn to the USSR's recent large-scale peace initiatives that are facilitating the elimination of the nuclear threat, the affirmation of general human values in international relations, and the strengthening of trust and security on the European Continent and throughout the world. It was stressed that in the process of ensuring the onward development of East-West relations every European country should make its own contribution to resolving these noble tasks.

Crown Prince Henri noted that people in Luxembourg are very much in sympathy with the changes in the Soviet Union and wish the cause of restructuring and the ideas of the new political thinking success. He expressed gratitude for the opportunity afforded to him and his wife to gain a closer acquaintance with the country's rich cultural heritage and learn about the Soviet people's desires and aspirations.

In the course of the conversation mutual satisfaction was expressed at the favorable development of USSR-Luxembourg relations, which have deep historical roots and good traditions and are characterized by a desire to better understand one another's positions. The sides advocated the further development of Soviet-Luxembourg political dialogue, the galvanization and dynamization of trade and economic relations between them, and the broadening of cultural cooperation.

On the same day the visitors laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

Petrovskiy Receives UK Ambassador

LD0603213189 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy received on Monday the British ambassador to the Soviet Union, Rodric Braithwaite.

They discussed Middle East settlement in the light of the latest Soviet initiatives advanced during Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's tour of Middle East countries.

They stressed the importance of broadening Soviet-British interaction, including through consultations of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, with a view to preparing and convening an international conference on the Middle East.

The two officials discussed individual issues of bilateral Soviet-British relations of mutual interest.

Deputy Foreign Minister Receives Cypriot Envoy

LD0603211289 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—Leonid Ilichev, Soviet deputy foreign minister, and Mikhail Sierifis, Cyprus ambassador to the USSR, discussed in Moscow on Friday, questions on the activity of the Non-Aligned Movement under new conditions, problems of a Cyprus settlement and some aspects of bilateral Soviet-Cyprus relations.

During the meeting they centred on the role of the Non-Aligned Movement under the new conditions which came about as a result of positive changes in the international arena recently. Cyprus heads the committee of the non-aligned foreign ministers on effectiveness of the Non-Aligned Movement. The conference of non-aligned foreign ministers, held in Nicosia last September, charged the committee with studying questions to improve the role and methods of movement. The ambassador described the first meeting of the committee held last January.

The Soviet deputy minister noted that the USSR was attentively following the activity of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Soviet Union also understands the great responsibility shouldered by Cyprus by chairing the committee of the non-aligned foreign ministers. It was pointed out that Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the U.N. and the envisioning of present-day realities in the spirit of new political thinking is consonant in many ways with the basic principles and aims, on which the activity of the Non-Aligned Movement is based.

The ambassador informed in brief the Soviet deputy foreign minister of the situation with a Cyprus settlement. The deputy minister said that the Soviet approach

to this question had not changed. The Soviet Union firmly supports the interests of a united Cypriot state and demilitarisation of the island.

Genscher Receives Soviet Broadcasting Officials

LD0303233989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent V. Kondratyev]

[Text] There was a conversation at the FRG Foreign Ministry today about the role of the mass media in the overall process of setting up good-neighborly ties between the states of Europe and the rest of the world, and between the FRG and the Soviet Union. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, leader of the West German foreign policy department, received a delegation from the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting headed by Comrade Aksenov. Genscher inquired about how restructuring and glasnost are affecting the operation of television and radio and what place the Federal Republic has in broadcasting. The chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting acquainted the minister with the results of and further plans for cooperation with FRG television companies and stressed that the showing of material from and about the FRG had increased perceptibly recently. The same trend is to be seen here, too. Genscher spoke in favor of involving the Soviet Union further in West European projects in audio-visual communications, which is an important aspect in the building of a common European home.

Talking about the preparation underway in the FRG for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit, the foreign minister expressed confidence that it would be a new stimulus to fruitful cooperation in many fields, including the field of those with whom he was talking today.

Economic Protocols Signed With Finland

LD0103103189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Helsinki, 28 Feb (TASS)—A protocol on cooperation between the National Economic Academy under the USSR Council of Ministers and the State Center for the Development of Finland for 1989-1990, and a contract on sabbaticals by Finnish businessmen and heads of enterprises in the USSR were signed here today.

These documents envisage a regular bilateral exchange of top-ranking management cadres. By spending sabbaticals in the National Economic Academy, representatives of Finnish private and state companies will be able to get acquainted with the economic reforms being conducted in the USSR. This will help them in the future to construct their relations with their Soviet partners correctly. At the same time, students from Finland will be able to improve their language skills in the A.S. Pushkin Russian Language Institute.

Soviet specialists will also get the opportunity to raise their qualifications in Finland.

Political & Social

Ryzhkov Meets Women's International Press Club

LD0803192489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1415 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Meeting between Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of the International Press Club of Women Journalists held in the Kremlin Palace on 7 March, the eve of International Women's Day—recorded]

[Text] [Ryzhkov] I am glad to greet you, esteemed ladies. Tomorrow, as you know, the whole world marks International Women's Day. I am not planning to analyze this. I can only say that in the decades since the world movement began, of course a very great deal has been done in the world to raise the role of women in society. As far as the USSR is concerned, of course, in our country women occupy a special place in our society. Indeed in the processes now taking place in the USSR that go under the heading of restructuring, women, of course, occupy a special place, too.

For many years we believed in our country that all women's questions had been solved, but a deeper analysis and glasnost have revealed very many unfinished questions that need to be solved to improve the position of women in our country. The government is naturally doing all it can to tackle these questions, although they are not always simple and it takes both time and, of course, a certain amount of money. This concerns the working conditions for our women, and it concerns the solution of everyday affairs, not all of which, unfortunately, have been solved in our country yet. However, we know what needs to be done and therefore we are consistently pursuing this line.

I think I will finish my greeting there, and I invite you to take part in a conversation. You seem to be ready with questions to ask me. I will try my utmost to answer them.

[Unidentified correspondent] Karl Marx once put it very well when he said that great social revolutions are impossible without the female ferment, as he expressed it. Tell me, please, do you consider that the dose of female ferment in our society today is sufficient?

[Ryzhkov] I should say that we cannot imagine our society without the active participation of our women in it, to say nothing of the fact that nearly 50 percent of those who work in our country are women who are engaged in all kinds of vocations and occupy all kinds of posts, as it were. From the point of view of labor alone, I believe it is necessary to continue to reduce the proportion of working women in our society, and especially, primarily, where heavy physical work is concerned. As far as the role of women in the cause of restructuring—which has been taking place recently—is concerned, I should say that women occupy very active positions.

[LA REPUBBLICA correspondent] LA REPUBBLICA. You know, I have a rather curious question. For instance in my country, Italy, it is not such a simple matter to have such close meetings with the prime minister. But, you know, we know everything about him anyway. You can even meet him in a restaurant, simply one evening, unexpectedly, and so on. Here none of this exists. Could you not tell us a little bit about yourself, only so that it is clear to us what kind of a man we are facing? [laughter]

[Ryzhkov] First, I should say straightaway that I cannot answer the question briefly. Second, we do not aim for exclusivity so that no one knows anything about us. Perhaps you are to blame for not asking us such questions. I have no need to hide my age. This year I will be 60. I was born into a worker's family, a family of coalminers. As for my family, I should say straightaway that I have a very good family, an extremely harmonious united family. My wife Lyudmila Sergeyevna studied at the Urals Polytechnical Institute and is a mechanical engineer. We have been married 34 years. Our daughter and son-in-law studied at Sverdlovsk Juridical Institute and are both lawyers. Our daughter is a candidate of juridical sciences and works as senior lecturer at the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Our son-in-law works at the Customs Administration. We have two grandchildren: a grandson Nikolay, who is 6 years old, and a granddaughter Lyudmila, who is in her 3d year. Our common hobby in the family: We all love books. We love music. Lately, we have begun to go to the theater and concerts less, although there was a time when we loved to do so very much, and went often. But now the situation is such that we manage to find about 30-40 minutes for reading, while it has become difficult to find time for the theater.

[MORNING STAR correspondent] [Name indistinct] From THE MORNING STAR newspaper. In the Soviet press one fairly often comes across the view that women should stay at home, that they should not be at work, that their job should consist of being good wives to their husbands and good mothers to their children. For example, in PRAVDA recently there was even an article saying that women are not needed at all in production, at work, whereas the policy of the party is, as I understand it, to promote capable women to leading posts. Is there not a contradiction here?

[Ryzhkov] I think that a woman should not be deprived of work. Perhaps she should not work in those professions in which women really should not work. However, I think that to limit a woman's world only to the family and to some narrow area would be a return to the past. We must create, gradually create, the conditions for women's work, working conditions for women, so that it really can be work that brings joy, be it intellectual work or some other work, but work that does not entail physical burdens not suited to the female body.

As far as promoting women to managerial jobs is concerned—that is, to jobs in which they occupy a definite position in society—I think that herein lies great potential, and there is such a need. I should tell you that we

have recently received data, statistical data to the effect that at present 500,000 women occupy managerial posts—that is, at the level of enterpries and organizations, managers of enterprises and organizations. That is one-quarter of the overall management personnel in our country. I believe that there are opportunities for a larger proportion of women to occupy precisely such managerial positions.

[NEWSDAY correspondent speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] [name indistinct] of NEWSDAY in New York. I would like to speak about the problems women encounter when they do food shopping here.

[Ryzhkov] Well, among the existing shortcomings in our life, we believe that the problem of providing the population with food has come to the forefront today. The fact of the matter is that over the past 2 years the overall volume of food production has stabilized. But, on the other hand, every year our population grows by almost 1 percent, and also, people no longer want to reconcile themselves, as they say, to the structure of nutrition that we had before. We have no starving people in our country. If one is talking about calories, in other words, approaching this problem from the scientific point of view, then we consume sufficient food products; but the structure is, of course, not what it should be. This is why this question is of paramount importance throughout our activity, and therefore, it has been decided to hold a special plenum of the party Central Committee on agrarian policy.

[Central Television correspondent] Central Television, the "Before and After Midnight" program. What can the government realistically do today to free women from everyday problems?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, I understand. This is a very topical question that gives no one any rest, neither women nor the government. The first thing that is essential, of course, is to create normal conditions so that a woman spends less time on purchasing goods and preparing food. Recently, the problem of consumer goods has sharpened—even for those products that were freely available in the shops 2 or 3 years ago, although if you take a look at the statistics, that is, data, on how many refrigerators, washing machines, and other consumer durables we produce, then we are increasing the production of them with every passing year. Unfortunately we still cannot satisfy the growing needs of the population. The fact is that recently there has been a very rapid and sharp rise in wages in the country. For example, last year the population's incomes increased 9 percent, while the trade turnover, that is, sales of all goods to the population, came to approximately 7 percent, although this percentage is a record one for the last 10-15 years. But, nonetheless, you still get a difference in that 2 percent more money was around in the country than goods. So far the same tendency is in evidence in the first 2 months of this year.

Of course, this is a natural stimulus because all enterprises and all organizations have transferred to full financial autonomy and are free to earn as much as they can make. But the problem is that this growth in incomes is not always accompanied by a growth in labor productivity and correspondingly a growth in material assets. This apparently shows that our economic reform has not been fully worked through and we are obliged to some extent to correct this. Of course, this gives rise to inflationary processes that have never brought joy to any country. Our task is to ensure that a wage corresponds to the amount of work, and no less important, that the production of consumer goods increases.

We are now adopting very serious measures in that respect. In December we adopted a decision to redirect 280 factories to the production of consumer goods. We are once again conducting such work together with union republics, so that we can all seek additional possibilities for producing goods at all enterprises. We will, of course, find the solutions. A certain amount of time, of course, will be required for this, but we are convinced this problem can be resolved, and must be resolved. Incidentally, in this respect we are also working in the sphere of converting military production. We are now working through a number of questions to convert factories that have been engaged in the manufacture of military output to the production of consumer goods. We are now working on such a program. It will be completed by the end of the year. As Comrade Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted in New York, we will even offer up the possibility of showing 2 or 3 factories at which we are conducting such a conversion.

Presently, in the defense complex the ratio is as follows: We are working 60 percent on defense matters, and 40 percent on civilian matters. By 1991 we will reach a 50-50 ratio, and in 1995 the ratio will change further. At that time 40 percent of production will be for the defense complex and 60 percent for civilian production. It is toward this goal that the program of conversion is currently aimed.

I would like to appeal to our Soviet journalists who are present here. The mass media should tread a little more carefully, more carefully, regarding—how can I put it more mildly—fanning possible rumors. Look at what happens. At the end of the year someone circulated the rumor that there wouldn't be any washing powder, and for 3 months we haven't been able to pacify the market. To give you the full picture, until this boom 80 tonnes of washing powder was being sold in Moscow per day. Now we are selling 300 tonnes per day and there are still queues. I don't think that people have suddenly started doing four times more washing. I'm convinced that this will pass and that people will laugh at themselves.

In parallel we are working on increasing services to the population. We have set the task that all nonspecialist ministries and sectors of the national economy—and we have now compelled everyone to get involved with this question—should annually increase services by 15 percent.

[Spanish Telegraph Agency correspondent in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation] Spanish Telegraph Agency. Glasnost now reigns in the USSR, and we have found out about corruption in the ranks of the bureaucracy. I would like to know what the government is doing to combat bureaucracy and corruption.

[Ryzhkov] Talking generally about bureaucracy, it is a worldwide phenomenon, and not only a phenomenon inherent in the USSR. There is a bureaucratic apparatus in any state. As for corruption of the apparatus, I will say that this is an impermissible phenomenon. Unfortunately, it has taken hold in our society, too. The examples you know. I don't think there's any need to dwell on them, but why did they happen? That is the main question. I think that there are three factors that influenced this, and these three factors should combat it: corruption can only be combatted with glasnost, which we had very little of formerly, and therefore there was potential for covering up all the negative phenomena that took place here or there. The second thing is the democratization of society. Were a legal mechanism that would keep check on all aspects of the life of our society to be set up in reality, of course things like this could not happen. At the very least, they would happen very little.

The third thing is that people must be held strictly accountable for such things. They should not be left in their posts. If this is done unswervingly, just as it is being done today, I am convinced that such ugly phenomena as we have had in the still recent past will not be repeated.

[Unidentified correspondent] The news, video information. Nikolay Ivanovich, how is your ordinary, everyday working day structured? What does it start with; what does it end with? What are the most pleasant moments for you and what are perhaps the most unpleasant? How often during the day do you talk to your wife on the telephone.

[Ryzhkov] My working day lasts 12-13 hours. After that, it goes on at home. I talk on the telephone pretty often. I try to ensure that the telephone is always switched through to me personally, and only if I leave my office for other premises where there is a presidium meeting or some other kind of meeting does a secretary answer the telephone. I think this is the correct style of working and I have always maintained that. I do talk to my wife on the telephone, when she needs to, or when I do.

What are the pleasant hours and unpleasant hours, in my work? You know, all in all, I love working. It took me a very long time in Moscow to get used to the fact that work here is drastically different from factory life. In a factory, no matter how big it is, you can quickly see the fruits of your work, but the higher the post you occupy in the state, the greater and greater this gap becomes. You need a very great deal of patience, all the same, to put plans into practice. At times it is very difficult when you want to do something quickly but it does not happen, because the scale is too great. For me, the pleasant hours are when I leave this office—when I go to a factory, to an institute or a kolkhoz. When I go to a factory I say: "I'll just get a taste of what the oil smells like, what the components smell like. But to be serious, I always want to look at how those actions being undertaken by the bodies governing the state are being put into practice. It is therefore my constant wish, my constant desire, to visit places, but, unfortunately, this does not always happen.

[Vremya correspondent] This is the Vremya program, now working here in this hall. Nikolay Ivanovich, you are now very popular in our country; your popularity has increased especially recently, when television brought you and your activities closer to us during those tragic days in Armenia. I want to say that at that time the television worked in a very unconstrained way and we did not feel that there were any sort of limits affecting the coverage and showing of these events. However, it is, after all, no secret that journalists very often come up against administrative, departmental diktat. Are you, as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, ready to facilitate making journalists' work free from departmental pressure, from impediments created by certain organizations to journalists' work?

[Ryzhkov] First, thank you very much for the kind words about me. I am altogether unaccustomed to receiving such appraisals. Usually it's the other way around! [laughter] As for Armenia, I must say that the mass media and television, first and foremost, did tremendous work here—invaluable, in my view. We did not forbid anyone anything. When, during the first few days, representatives from television and the papers approached us to ask: Can we go, or is it not on? we said: do not ask, go and work as you see fit. Of course this whole tragedy that took place on Armenian soil, the tragedy of this people, this remarkable people was brought home to us by television, and it helped this people in their hour of need.

Let me give one example. On the first day, when we appeared there and saw what had taken place, it was incidentally I think, the Vremya program that was filming right there on the street, and someone asked what was needed and I said what was needed. I said, simply: this is needed and that is needed, please do not wait for orders from above. You know, by the morning we had the data that the machinery I spoke of, already some 150 units of it, was at the airports about to be loaded onto planes. After all, the situation was that each hour meant a human life.

That is why I once again want to say, to express gratitude to the Vremya program of which, to be frank, I saw little, only subsequently did I see certain things because it was simply impossible for me to watch at that time, but I know that tremendous work has been done.

You ask about our further steps in the area of openness, if one can put it like that. After all, here too, restructuring is underway. Take, for instance, the Council of Ministers. We, too, have been restructuring ourselves rather seriously in this respect over the past few years. Last summer we began to show the sessions of the Council of Ministers. It was the first time that television cameras made their appearance during government session time. A programme "Reportage from Council of Ministers Session" appeared on television. As of January this year the Council of Ministers has its own press organ: PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTINIK. We endeavor to bring in as many correspondents as possible to the sessions of the Council of Ministers' Presidium. Of course, when interesting issues are under debate, when routine matters are under examination there is nothing to be gleaned there, and such issues exist, too.

All in all, I can firmly tell you that our course is to make glasnost fully apply to the government, not merely to the Council of Ministers Presidium, but to the entire Cabinet, the government.

[Unidentified correspondent] Thank you.

[Ryzhkov] Well, comrades, thank you very much. Once again availing myself of this meeting, I would like to greet you on the coming women's day and to wish you successes. Well, I hope that this is not our last meeting!

[Unidentified correspondent] No, of course not.

Results of Registration for Elections Noted

LD0803132189 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow march 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov and Valeriy Kiosa:

As many as 3,781 people are running for 2,250 seats at the USSR Supreme Soviet, according to the results of registration of candidates for USSR people's deputies.

As is known, district elections will be held in March 26. As many as 2,901 candidates were registered in 1,500 territorial and national-territorial districts nationwide. Another 750 seats will be for the first time filled by public organisations, where elections will start already this week. The first five deputies will be elected on March 11 at an extended plenary meeting of the council of All-Union Inventors' Society. Overall, public organisations registered 880 candidates.

The results of the registration show that party full and candidate members comprise 85 and 88.4 per cent of all candidates registered respectively in electoral districts and public organisations. To compare: Party members comprise some 70 per cent of the deputies of the current, 11th, Supreme Soviet.

"The growing number of Communists among candidates is not the result of any quotas set from above but evidence of their authority among the broad mass of the people," member of the Central Auditing Commission Georgiy Barabashev says. "Moreover, the programmes of Communists based on the address of the CPSU Central Committee 'To the Party and the Soviet People' stand out for their statesmanlike approach and realism."

Other figures, characterizing the qualitative make-up of candidates in election districts, are also revealing. Women make up only 17 per cent of them, while they constitute a third of the current Supreme Soviet. Georgiy Barabashev attributes the lowering of women's share to the low activism of women's councils. As is known, along with other public organisations, the women's councils grouped by the Soviet Women's Committee received the right to directly elect their representatives to the Supreme Soviet. Unfortuntely, they seem to be quite content with that and do not take active part in nominating candidates in election districts. Similar conclusions can be drawn after analyzing the make-up of the candidates by age. The share of young people was also reduced as a result of passive attitudes of district and regional committees of the Young Communist League.

"Undoubtedly, one should strive for raising the role in the supreme body of state power of women and youth, for increasing the number of workers. But this should not be done through old administrative methods. This process should be natural and democratic," Georgiy Barabashev stressed.

Kulikov Comments on Election Candidacy

LD0903093489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Mar89

[Text] Looking toward elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, our correspondent Tatiana Chemodanova interviewed Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov, marshal of the Soviet Union and hero of the Soviet Union, who has been nominated as a candidate for people's deputy for the All-Union Organization of Labor and wwar Veterans.

[Begin recording] [Kulikov] We, as military men and veterans, must always remember Lenin's instruction that the Army, as a tool of the state for the defense of the working people, has to exist. It is another matter that, bearing in mind the new political thinking under conditions of extensive democratization and glasnost, our Army is adopting totally different forms of organizational structure and is assuming new trends in the resolving of the tasks it faces. The adoption of the defensive doctrine by our Soviet Army and the armies of Warsaw Pact predetermines the most important task: to defend the interests and gains of socialism to create a new army on a qualitatively new basis of armaments and equipment.

[Chemodanova] Viktor Georgiyevich, if you are elected a representative of the supreme authority, what do you see as your main task?

[Kulikov] If I am given the honor of being elected deputy of the Supreme Soviet, I see my most important task as providing, through legislation, all conditions for the existence and life of labor and war veterans, including the question of material support, and the provision of medical care to ensure that veterans are active particiants in all our social processes.

For all matters to be better resolved, it would be expedient to set up a permanent commission or group of labor and war veterans at the Supreme Soviet, which could, on a systematic basis, on the basis of legislation, and with definite laws at its disposal, examine all matters of social security, questions of employment, and other matters relating to the support of veterans. [end recording]

Candidate Borovik Discusses 'Penchant for Secrecy'
PM0103092189 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian
No 8, 20-26 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 22 Feb 89) p 13

[Interview with "Current Affairs Writer" G.A. Borovik by Gagik Karapetyan under the rubric "The Guest of Page 13"; "Genrikh Borovik"; no place or date of interview given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpt] Genrikh Averyanovich Borovik, delegate to the 19th all-union party conference, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, editor of the "Pozitsiya" television program, winner of USSR State Prizes, playwright, and current affairs writer is our Page 13 guest.

[Karapetyan] You are a candidate for USSR people's deputy from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace. If you are elected, to which departments will you address your questions?

[Borovik] I will begin with the Ministry of Defense. It must be asked this question: Why is it that even today, for example, our U.S. partners ("adversaries" until restructuring) know much more than Soviet people about our military budget and the numerical strength of our forces? Is it not time for all this to become public knowledge? After all, people in the West use our insurmountable penchant for secrecy against us. Matters have reached the point of absurdity: For a long time our newspapers wrote for our compatriots using...the U.S. codenames for a Soviet missile and a Soviet aircraft—"SS-20" and "Backfire." Another question: What funds have been and are being spent on the country's civil defense system? Why was it unprepared at the time of the tragedies in Chernobyl and Armenia? I saw for myself the efficient work done in Leninakan by civil defense specialists from Britain, France, and Sweden. Fair enough, we lag behind technically, but why are they better organized and more mobile than us? Where is the guarantee that a union-wide system for prompt response to accidents and natural disasters will be created in the immediate future?

Many questions have to be asked. There are also proposals to be made (and this is more important) on ecological problems. I think that it would be worth asking our foreign policy and foreign trade departments to create a mechanism for making decisions which presuppose open discussion—with television coverage—of decisions by the USSR Supreme Soviet. This applies to major diplomatic steps, to foreign trade policy, to the amount of our aid to other countries, and so on. Our public discusses—accepting or rejecting—plans for memorials, museums, and monuments; it knows who their authors are. But we still do not know to this day how the decisions concerning Afghanistan were made. Or the decision to pump a huge quantity of petroleum and gas from our country to West Europe. We don't know!

[Karapetyan] We usually know that the decision "was made collegially."

[Borovik] Correct. But the voters, the country's citizens must also know the name of the author (or authors) of new laws and political initiatives, the specific stance taken by every deputy during their discussion.

In December's issue of "Pozitsiya" we showed the nine-story blocks which collapsed during the earthquake in Armenia. One of those who took part in the program, speaking about the builders of those killer homes, said: "What courageous people! They commit terrible mistakes without even a thought that children bearing their names will have to answer the question: 'Are you by any chance related to the people who contructed this or that building?'" The formula of "collegiality," if it is impersonal, is always fraught with the danger of collective irresponsibility and collective indifference. We must get away from anonymity! Precisely because the author of some rash step would know that his name would be associated with that step. The opposite would also apply: The authors of a good law or a sensible political decision must be treated with respect.

[Karapetyan] Could you publicly refute the criticism by one participant in the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace plenum, who expressed amazement that the committee chairman was nominated a candidate for USSR people's deputy by many republic and oblast committees for the defense of peace? Was that a hint at some pressure on your part?

[Borovik] The unpaid leader of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace is not a minister. He has **absolutely no** levers to "pressure" local committees. There is just one decisive factor: Has the chairman established his reputation through his work or not, in other words do local committees approve the major galvanization of the activity of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of

Peace, in which a fair amount of personal energy has been invested, or not? Do they respect the civic stance (which has repeatedly been expressed in action, in the press, on television, and from the 19th party conference rostrum) or not? As for the "hints," let them be dealt with by the consciences of those who dislike the galvanization of the work of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and my civic stance. These critics even "forget" to mention that many committees for the defense of peace also nominated Patriarch Pimen, writers Ananyev and Goncharov, Academician Arbatov, and other candidates for USSR people's deputy.

[Karapetyan] Readers would like to know the cost of projects undertaken by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.

[Borovik] I can give you an example: The recent march from Odessa to Kiev by 250 Americans and many Soviet people cost R515,700. I think that money spent on laying the foundations of trust between people has not been wasted. It will be recouped a hundredfold. This has also been realized by our U.S. partners, who incurred equally large expenditure on organizing a march by Soviet people on U.S. territory in 1988. Talks are under way on inviting a large group—up to 200—of future people's deputies to the United States. Entirely at the expense of the host country.

[Karapetyan] Is it possible to find out the amount and recipients of your personal donations?

[Borovik] The last amounts I personally donated went to the Peace Foundations, the Foundation for Victims of the Armenian Earthquake, and the building of a rehabilitation home for war veterans and internationalist soldiers. The total is a considerable amount for me. In principle, I feel it tactless to measure good deeds in money terms, let alone advertise them.

[Karapetyan] The chairmanship of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace is an unpaid office. Who pays your salary?

[Borovik] Central Television. I am a political observer and chief editor of the "Pozitsiya" program.

[Karapetyan] What, in your opinion, are the positive and negative features of that program?

[Borovik] We are very critical of our own work. We are gratified that a program without songs, videoclips, or extracts from shows or movies has gained favor with viewers. We judge by the thousands of letters we receive. These letters are neither requests for musical numbers nor complaints. Their writers reflect on our future life, on whether we are correctly pursuing our restructuring, on ways to support it and ensure its success.

Internationalism has become a key topic of the program. Life itself has demanded this. The few broadcasts on this complex and delicate subject have given us confidence that the vast majority of people share the feeling of proper Soviet internationalism and patriotism. Even though there are quite a few people infected by nationalism or chauvinism.

Our program will continue to tackle all spiritual aspects of restructuring.

[Karapetyan] Speaking at the 19th party conference, you spoke about the actions by "self-styled and genuine pioneers of restructuring." What system do you use to "recognize" them?

[Borovik] Restructuring is primarily harmed by people who are unable to conduct their work with professionalism or even simply in an intelligent and sensible manner. Also, and to a tremendous extent, by demagogues (especially when rally demagoguery about restructuring is coupled with inaction at one's own work).

[Karapetyan] Every now and again you are at the center of a "news blitz" in the West. This happened after the program on emigres, after the "roundtable discussion" devoted to internationalism, and after the program on Nagorno-Karabakh. Why is this?

[Borovik] More often than not, the "blitz" strikes when I, as a current affairs writer, succeed in telling a truth that had been previously concealed. Or in casting light on some of its additional aspects. Think back on the late summer of 1983, when we shot down a South Korean Boeing 747 in the Far East.

Just 1 hour afterward the world learned about the loss of the aircraft and its 269 passengers. But our newspapers carried an absurd announcement to the effect that, following warning signals, the airliner continued its flight toward the Sea of Japan. The world was justifiably indignant. But we kept silent. It was 2 days later when, speaking on the "Vremya" program, I said that the South Korean passenger aircraft, having behaved like a reconnaissance aircraft, was shot down by the Soviet air defense forces, that this was a common tragedy for us all, and that the world could not let itself carry on the madness of mutual hatred.

Even before the program was over, telex machines in the Central Television building were receiving "flash" messages from the world news agencies: "The Russians have finally admitted that they shot down the aircraft; the observer had no doubt received clearance from top circles in the Kremlin."

My colleagues abroad could not have imagined that nobody had read the text of that statement beforehand—neither "circles in the Kremlin" nor even the leadership of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. I still cannot even try to explain how this

happened. But on the next day I was under a perfectly real threat by many "circles." How and why nothing happened is something else that I don't know. Things like that had happened, even though rarely... [passage omitted]

Solovyev Visits Leningrad Rayon 24 Feb
LD2602111989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondents S. Dukhavin and V. Zadorozhnyy from Leningrad]

[Excerpts] A Leningrader who has not visited the settlement of Rybatskoye in the southeast of the city for a few years would not recognize it today. Huge apartment blocks have sprung up instead of the numerous wooden houses. [passage omitted]

But at the present, with 20,000 people living here, the rayon infrastructure is still far form perfect. The construction rate of retail outlets, public service facilities, schools, kindergartens, and medical establishments cleary falls short of that required. These are serious matters that have to be cleared up without delay.

That is what Yuriy Filippovich Solovyev brought to the attention of the heads of construction organizations and of party and local soviet bodies. He has been nominated as a candidate USSR people's deputy by the labor collectives of the Nevskiy territorial constituencey No 55.

Comrade Solovyev became acquainted with the progress in constructing the new development and spoke with people living in the settlement. It was noted that in tackling the fundamental tasks of providing social and domestic faciltiies there needs to be more active use of the opportunities offered by the rayon's enterprises and organizations, whose workers live in the settlement of Rybatskoye that is now undergoing renovation. [video shows general views of Rybatskoye; Solovyev talking to people]

Medvedev Activities in Belorussia Reported
LD0103105389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From the "VREMYA" newcast video report by correspondents L. Elin and A. Zhuk]

[Text] Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev today visited the integral production association which participates in the implementation of eight union and republican scientific and technical programs. [Video shows Medvedev and entourage dressed in white coats and caps looking round a production hall with automated operations, VDUs]. The collective is working in a confident manner. Almost 90 percent of articles are produced with the quality sign. These are electronic devices for Rostselmash, for vehicle producing enterprises, and for an entire range of watches. How has the success been achieved? First and foremost because of the new forms of labor organization and active cooperation with science.

While acquainting himself with the enterprise Vadim Andreyevich visited the shop where 1,500 people worked recently. Half that number are now working here. [Video shows Medvedev and entourage walking through a clean production unit, automatic equipment in action, Medvedev closely examining an apparatus]. World level technological standards are achieved here. In many respects this is the contribution of the enterprise itself, where they stimulate the development and production of new articles. What an interesting experience. Creative teams, which comprise workers, engineers, technologists, and designers who work toward the end result are functioning effectively at the enterprise. This makes it possible to considerably reduce the time needed to master new equipment. The production output program is to be completely renewed in 5 years. [Video shows women working with microscopes, Medvedev talking to one of women workers]. This is not bad, but as Comrade Medevedev stressed it is possible and necessary to do this faster.

There are more than 4,000 Communists in the collective of the association. This is why the work of the party organization and the moral climate in the labor collectives were discussed at the meeting. [Video shows Medvedev talking to other workers during his tour of production facilities].

Comrade Medvedev showed interest in matters of social and everyday life of the workers at the enterpise and acquainted himself with the work of the catering unit [Video shows lunch served at the canteen] He highly praised the standard and quality of the services rendered to the workers. Only 20 minutes are spent on lunch here, and the selection of dishes is varied. The subsidiary plot of the enterprise is, of course, helping out very much. [Video shows Medvedev and entourage in the canteen kitchen]

This is an exhibition of the achievements of the national economy of the republic, where the products which define the present-day of the industry and Agroprom of Belorussia are displayed. Much of what is on display here is in wide demand not only in our country but also abroad. However, as Comrade Medvedev noted, it is necessary to persistently strive for greater competitiveness of Belorussian products on the world market. [Video shows Medvedev and entourage examining farming machinery and trucks, interior of exhibition hall] One of the most urgent tasks it to raise the production of consumer goods and, of course, to improve their quality.

Today, Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev visited the Minsk Radiotechnical Institute and met the leaders of the creative unions and associations of Belorussia. [Video shows Medvedev standing in front of a black official limousine, shaking hands with several men]

Among them are writers, artists, composers, architects, and theater officials. There was discussion about the responsibility of an artist, about the active civic position of literary and arts figures. [Video shows a meeting in progress; Medvedev addressing the meeting] Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev emphasized that at the present stage of restructuring it is especially necessary to focus ideological work on constructive matters. At the same time, it is important to develop an analytical and critical approach to shortcomings, to that which hampers advancement. An exchange of views on the broadest range of matters and problems connected with ideological work took place. Yevrem Yevseyevich Sokolov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia participated in the meeting.

Ryzhkov Message to Power Engineering Club
LD0103124989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1207 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar (TASS)—We provide the full text of the message sent by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the participants of the constituent conference of the Moscow Power Engineering Club which opened today.

I sincerely welcome the participants in and guests of the constituent conference of the Moscow Power Engineering Club.

The setting up of this international, nongovernmental organization is concordant with the positive world trends in the development of creative contact between specialists in various areas of human activity. It will enable power engineering scientists, economists, ecologists, philosophers, writers, public figures, and business people to discuss a whole range of problems related to providing humankind with sufficient energy, and to work out scientifically based recommendations on issues of energy policy.

The energy problem affects the interests of people living on the earth and the fate of future generations. For this reason, it cannot be solved without consideration of interests common to all humanity. Because it is a most important part of the world economy and the basis of its growth and prosperity, contemporary power engineering can confidently develop on the basis of international cooperation, and a broad program of measures to work out and use energy-saving and environmental protection technologies

Supported by scientific and technical progress and hopeful changes in international relations, the world community is capable of finding resources for carrying out such a program. The transfer of a part of military industry to the production of civilian output can yield a great deal. Pursuing the policy of restructuring, the Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all countries in this noble cause.

The Soviet Government regards the setting up of the Moscow Power Engineering Club as an important step in the cause of uniting the intellectual potential of a broad spectrum of countries for resolving the global problems that face humankind.

I wish participants and guests a fruitful conference.

Zaykov Speaks on Capital Construction Tasks 22 Feb
PM0103151189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report on 22 February Moscow party-economic aktiv meeting: "Great Objectives Require Great Efforts"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The state of affairs in the sphere of capital construction in the capital and ways to radically improve it were examined 22 February at a conference of the party-economic aktiv in which representatives of central ministries and departments and the Moscow Gorispolkom, first secretaries of CPSU raykoms, and rayispolkom chairmen participated.

The conference was opened by L.N. Zaykov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman V.T. Saykin delivered a report. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov delivered a concluding speech. Our frank discussion, he said, has pointed out shortcomings in the work of party and soviet organs and economic leaders and in the mastery of political and economic means of management instead of command-and-administer methods. This is one of the main reasons why the rectification of things in capital construction is slow. The problem has assumed political significance because we are examining it in the Moscow CPSU Gorkom today.

The burden of long-standing unresolved questions is still great. There are deficiencies in planning, and the development of construction materials facilities is lagging. Losses from mismanagement and negligence are great, cadre turnover is growing, and there have been no substantial changes in construction workers' working and everyday living conditions.

The time taken to build projects is being slow to come down. Every year more than 100 organizations fail to meet their plan. There is a lack of effective supervision and coordination of ministry and department construction organizations on the part of the Mosstroykomitet [precise expansion unknown; possibly Moscow Committee for Construction Affairs]. It is extremely difficult to resolve new tasks if this bundle of problems is not sorted out and the shortcomings are not eliminated.

The tasks facing Moscow construction workers are very substantial. The elaboration and coordination of the new master plan for the development of Moscow City and Oblast through the year 2010 and the "Progress-95" integrated territorial and sector program is nearing completion. A draft program to modernize and provide amenities for the central part of Moscow through the year 2000 is in the pipeline. The volume of work here will total around R5 billion. Growth in the construction of housing and cultural and consumer service facilities is envisaged. Here it is necessary to not lose sight of the need to ensure integrated development and to ensure the solution of the most important social program—the provision of a separate apartment for every family by the year 2000. The lag in construction of social, cultural, and consumer service facilities in long-established areas must be eliminated. The volume of work here is assessed at around R700 billion.

All this can be achieved only given unity of effort on the part of all those involved in the construction process, intensive and coordinated work by party organizations, and an ability on their part to make the fullest use of the potential of every Communist and nonparty person.

The construction complex was impeded in solving the problems that have built up, and in scaling new heights, by the former administrative structure. Therefore the approach of eliminating departmentalism and fragmentation among all those involved in the investment cycle was in general the right option. The creation of a single administrative organ—the Mosstroykomitet—is aimed at coordinating and integrating the activity of all construction organizations on the territory of Moscow and ensuring the pursuit of a unified investment policy in city construction.

Today, as we look at the first results of its work, we can already draw certain conclusions. A headquarters for introducing the new economic mechanism, ensuring integrated construction, and determining the directions of the scientific and technical development of the sector has been set up.

A specific action plan has been elaborated for extricating the construction industry base from its parlous state. There has been some success in concentrating efforts on the preferential development of the city's infrastructure facilities, which is particularly important in connection with the development of new areas. In conjunction with the Moscow Main Architectural Administration, the next 5-year plan for the construction of housing and social and consumer service facilities is being elaborated, and the development of a new generation of dwelling houses is nearing completion.

Positive experience of construction under the state acceptance system has been gained. Permanent working contacts with the Moscow City Planning Committee, the Moscow Main Architectural Administration, and the rayons are being sought, and not without success. Admittedly these are as yet only first attempts at working in harmony.

If you analyze the Mosstroykomitet's 1988 economic performance indicators you can observe some positive trends. But the period of reorganization in the committee has gone on too long. All this has been aggravated by a number of errors and incorrect actions by the Mosstroykomitet leadership.

Management of the complex has exhibited parallelism and duplication in the functions of the committee and production association services. But it is the committee's task to be the sector's nerve center, not its "pointing finger." As yet, however, the improvements in this direction have been negligible.

At present the structure of the construction complex is pretty confused. Therefore the first thing on which the committee and its party organization should do some constructive work is the improvement of the sector's management structure, the expansion of organizations' independence, the extensive utilization of economic methods in management, the transition to full economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management, and the elimination of lossmaking and low profitability.

Its functions as overall developer of the city should dictate a precise position on the committee's part in terms of coordinating the work of ministry and department construction organizations. It is necessary to ensure a phased transition to a two- or three-tier management system, eliminate intermediate components, and consolidate trusts and organizations. The work which is now under way must be conducted in a serious and considered manner and, most importantly, with glasnost. The process of trying to find the right structure has gone on too long: It is causing serious disruption on construction projects and in labor collectives.

The way in which the single ordering office [obyedineniye yedinogo zakazchika] fits into the construction complex needs to be defined more clearly. The process of resolving questions relating to the reorganization of the structure of the Moscow Main Architectural Administration and design organizations under its jurisdiction, and of building up their capacities, has been too slow. It would seem expedient to ensure a closer involvement between working design planning and actual construction work and organize joint work on the end result. Here we consider it possible to concentrate in the main administration the resolution of mainly urban development and architectural policy questions.

In addition to this there is a need to further concentrate collectives' efforts on resolving practical tasks, increasing reciprocal exactingness, discipline, and organization, and creating the necessary conditions for precise and smooth-running work in all components, trusts, administrations, and teams.

To change the situation the Mosstroykomitet must continue to clearly delineate and separate the functions of state administration and direct economic management. It is extremely important to ensure that the shaping of organizational structures for construction work at the new stage in no way involves the use of the old methods. This process must take account of labor collectives' interests and be implemented democratically. On the basis of the results of today's discussion the adoption of a comprehensive Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau resolution is deemed necessary.

Success, and this should be stressed yet again, can only result from organizational diversity and the use of diverse models of economic management. Communist construction workers must march in the vanguard of the projected transformations and lead the sector's labor collectives in their wake.

PRAVDA Reports Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum 24 Feb

PM2802105389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] The Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum held 24 February discussed a plan for acting on the criticism and proposals expressed at the 27th conference of the capital's party organization and set up Moscow CPSU Gorkom commissions. This concluded the great work done during the reports and elections and opened the equally complex stage of fulfilling the tasks that have been set.

The plenum noted that the most important condition for the success of restructuring is to ensure consistency of word and action and unswervingly implement the practical and specific proposals put forward by the capital's communists aimed at resolving the urgent socioeconomic tasks of Moscow's development, improving Muscovites' working and living conditions, and enhancing the standard of ideological education work.

To that end it is necessary to comprehensively improve the forms, methods, and style of party leadership of all aspects of the city's life under the conditions of restructuring, and to enhance the responsibility of all communists for the success of renewal. The need was stressed to pursue a firm and consistent course in differentiating the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs and further democratizing intraparty life—comprehensively relying in this work on grassroots party links.

The plenum participants heard information on the progress in fulfilling the comprehensive plan for the city's economic and social development in the 12th 5-Year Plan, as well as a report on the progress of the campaign for the election of USSR people's deputies.

The plenum was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

CPSU Commission on Party Development Meets

LD2702202389 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—The first meeting of a commission of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on party development and personnel policy has been held here under the chairmanship of Georgiy Razumovskiy, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The commission discussed the main directions of its long-term activities. The commission is to work out a wide range of topical matters which should reflect the processes of democratisation of the party life and reorganisation of its activities at a time when the functions of party, local-government and economic bodies are being separated and the vanguard role of party organisations and the Communists is being raised.

Specific matters which are subject to study by the commission include the formation and strengthening of the party ranks, the enhancement of the role of primary organisations and elective bodies of the party, and reorientation of party bodies to political methods of guidance, readjustment of work among personnel in the conditions of its democratisation, and renunciation of the formalist approach to the selection and placing of personnel.

The generalisation of the mass political work experience, which party organisations gain during election campaigns and other activities within the framework of the political reform, will figure importantly in the commission's plans.

Much attention will be given to preparations for a regular, 28th, congress of the CPSU. The commission is to study proposals by party organisations and Communists on party development matters, to express its recommendations regarding them and formulate conclusions on draft party documents, including those draft documents which will be brought up for party-wide or countrywide discussion.

The commission will work on a collective and democratic basis. Provision is made for enlisting the efforts of scholars and experts in working out matters.

During the consideration of the results of the report and election campaign in the party, it was pointed out that the campaign was notable for extensive democratism, critical approach, openness, and free expression of opinions. Having stimulated the perestroyka forces in the

party, the campaign gave a powerful impetus to the implementation of the political reform and to all transformations in the economic, social and culture life of the country.

Foreign, Domestic Aspects of New Thinking Viewed
PM0303093089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by political observer V. Kobysh: "The New Thinking Is Already Bearing Real Fruit"; article is part of feature headed "86-89," consisting of five replies to the questions: "1. What are the most significant changes that have taken place in our society's life in the 3 years since the 27th CPSU Congress? 2. What are the most important problems, in your view, that restructuring is facing today?"]

[Text] It has been only 3 years since the 27th CPSU Congress. Given the intensiveness and significance of the changes that have taken place over that time in international life, one could also say "3 whole years."

These are the key results achieved in that time, summed up by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech with Kiev working people: The threat of war has lessened, the Soviet Union's security has strengthened, and the prestige of our policy in the community of states and among the people has genuinely increased. Another thing that cannot be measured on any scale or by any numerical calculations, but is, perhaps, the most important—the world in general has become calmer and safer.

These are global results. All of us, of course, were particularly moved by our deliverance from that legacy of former times that was consuming us with grief and shame. "Our troops have come home from Afghanistan," it was said in the Kiev speech. "There is nothing to add, or to take away...." as the poet said. All the same he would, perhaps, have agreed to one addition: Taking that decision and putting it into practice required both wisdom and courage.

It is striking what we have achieved in the 3 years since the 27th congress. But let us not flatter ourselves: The danger of nuclear disaster has receded slightly, but the threat has not gone away, it is just around the corner. The slightest jolt—a false move, a careless step, or an error, not only human but by a computer—is enough for us, the human race, to cease to exist. This is no exaggeration—it is a realistic picture. In my opinion nothing is more dangerous now, or more stupid, than unthinking, rosy optimism.

What is the solution, where is our salvation? I believe it is in the truth, which must become universal property. That truth gave birth to and nurtures what we cannot live without—the new political thinking.

It would be naive to think that it came of its own accord, that it dropped from the sky like manna from heaven. The path to the new thinking lay through a grave struggle with considerable losses.

Perhaps not everyone even remembers now the fierce opposition of some members of our former leadership, at the time, to the publication of a simple but terrifyingly obvious fact: Enough nuclear weapons are stockpiled in the world to kill all living things on earth many times over. Why frighten people, when they have enough problems and worries already?—the mighty opponents objected. The truth proved stronger than their domineering views.

Since I am on the subject, I will tell you something I have not written about before.

Toward the end of the period that we now call "stagnation," an academician everyone knows, a scientist with a worldwide reputation, said on the television program "Studio 9" something that is known, but which many people did not know: The ozone layer is growing thinner, and we are all now subject to direct radioactive radiation. In another "Studio 9" he dared to call into question the expediency of erecting extremely costly nuclear shelters. First, only the select, the elite of elites, could be accommodated in them; second, even if, in the event of a nuclear conflict, these chosen ones survived, it is not very clear what they would do in a radioactive desert contaminated for decades if not centuries, the scientist observed.

Representatives of a certain department were prepared to have the academician, and still more us ordinary mortals, the participants in the television programs, along with the presenter, Professor V.S. Zorin, hanged, drawn, and quartered. They would have done it had not a chorus of authoritative, responsible voices come out in defense of the truth that had been spoken, which is now common knowledge. The reprisals never came, they dared not do it.

Of course, one could avoid mentioning such unpleasant things. They are repugnant. But it is necessary: A good many monopolists of the "truth in the last resort" are still "in the saddle" and are confident that their time will come, and then there will be a reckoning. They are doubly mistaken. They will not live to see their former omnipotence. And they will not succeed in turning people for whom access to the truth is one of the main components of social justice into something like Aytmatov's "Mankurts" [zombie-like characters deprived of memory in an Aytmatov novel]. "We are increasingly opening up to the world, and it is increasingly opening up to us," it was said in the Kiev speech. I am sure this process will not only continue, but will become still broader and more active. Especially since over there, too, on the other side, people are unwilling to be "Mankurts."

We have come a long way, a very long way, over these 3 years in international affairs, which naturally had the most beneficial influence on our internal affairs too. We have begun a significant reduction in the Armed Forces and armaments, we are cutting military spending, we have embarked on the partial conversion of military production, reassigning some of it to civil needs—that is how M.S. Gorbachev defined the process that has begun. Obviously there is no need to explain what this foreign policy "boost" means for an overstrained, shortage economy.

Naturally the question arises for many people: How do you explain the obvious gap between our foreign policy successes and domestic difficulties, in particular the stalling in the economic sphere?

A difficult question, and there is no one answer to it; there are many. The main thing, it seems to me, is, first, that in foreign policy, which is led directly by a comparatively small group of people who agree with each other entirely, a consistency has been shown that is unfortunately lacking in internal affairs. Second—and this was, of course, decisive—the real threat of universal annihilation that faced mankind, the Soviet people included, left no room for futile debates and pointless improvisations, rallying everyone around the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The results are plain to see.

The public consciousness, there can be no doubt, will be permeated with understanding and responsibility for the highly serious situation that has now developed in the sphere of the economy and in other areas of our internal life. In other words, we must now do everything possible, which only recently appeared impossible, to ensure that here too restructuring develops to the full and bears fruit.

Party's Role in Glasnost Era Discussed

PM2802095889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Academician G. Smirnov article: "The Party Has Strengthened and Developed as Leader"—article is part of feature headed "86-89," consisting of five replies to the questions: "1. What are the most significant changes that have taken place in our society's life in the 3 years since the 27th CPSU Congress? 2. Name the most important problems, in your view, that restructuring is facing today"]

[Text] I think the restructuring that now embraces the whole party, the change in party organizations' functions and tasks, the stepping up of the soviets' role, democratic methods of resolving problems—these are the things that, in the process of implementation of all these intentions, can create militant party organizations that the people will follow.

The most important thing is that since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) plenum and the 27th party congress, the party has strengthened and developed as leader of the revolutionary renewal of society.

This should be particularly mentioned now, because strange kinds of people have appeared in the political arena, people who do not only participate in restructuring (which, in itself, could only be welcomed), but who, at the same time, very loudly and insistently emphasize their own special role as instigators, initiators, organizers, and all but leaders of restructuring.

The party started restructuring. It is the party that leads restructuring. It was the party that formulated its theory and policy. Of course, in this context the successes and organization of the cause vary greatly in different places, and the level of activeness of party organizations is far from uniform. But that neither negates nor belittles the party's leading role in restructuring.

I remember that at the 27th party congress the section on the party referred to three Leninist ideas: that new tasks cannot be resolved by old methods; that lying and bragging means political and moral death; and that you cannot be the ideological leader of the masses without theoretical work. All these ideas now permeate various spheres of party activity. The tendency for party committees to do the work of economic organs and soviets is slowly but surely disappearing from practice.

One cannot help wondering: Is it really disappearing everywhere? The answer will be different in different places, and this is perhaps one of the most complex issues—party committees sometimes find it hard or even impossible to let go of the resolution of urgent problems. The question will be finally resolved only as the autonomy of economic organs and soviets becomes established.

Of course, workers from party committees have begun to visit enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes more often. We see party leaders constantly in the localities, studying affairs and organizing. But people ask: "Why do local leaders not do this? Why do we not see them?" Why not, indeed?

Glasnost is a great test. First, of course, because it is the opposite of lying and bragging, of the concealment of shortcomings. It is a condition of the development of criticism and self-criticism. Everyone is in favor of glasnost, of course, but real guarantees of glasnost, that is, systematic provision of information for the people on the activity of leading organs—that is something that is, of course, far from adequate as yet. The political line has been proclaimed, the need for it is obvious, but experience is lacking. There is not enough awareness of the need for consistency in glasnost. The legal guarantees of glasnost are lacking and that has a negative effect on the level of democracy and the level of the masses' political activeness.

After all, it is not enough for the Politburo and Council of Ministers to give regular briefings on their activity, while the ministries, for instance, cannot be said to have distinguished themselves in this respect. Here glasnost is far from everywhere the norm. There are still many cases where newspaper editorial offices, seeking to bring glasnost to their pages, are severely criticized and even penalized.

And another thing. Unfortunately the conditions do not exist everywhere for glasnost to become the natural companion of the activity of, for instance, the soviets. Take the Moscow rayons. Here the rayispolkom and party raykom are dealing with a population of hundreds of thousands, carrying out work on a vast scale, and adopting a great many vitally important decisions, yet how can the broad circles of the population be informed about this work? There are no rayon newspapers or rayon radio here. Some speakers at the recent Moscow City Party Conference were right to raise the matter of finding some way of presenting systematic information on the activity of rayon components of management through the city press and city television. This is the situation not only in Moscow, but in all the big cities. It is a rather paradoxical situation: Smaller regions have more favorable conditions than bigger ones.

Party organizations have become very attentive toward the masses' opinion and the development of glasnost and take account of the demands of various categories of working people and communists. And all this is correct. But, in creating the conditions for the free expression of the masses' will, party organizations must not abandon the pursuit of a clear and consistent political line, a line taking into account both the diversity of the working people's interests and the public interests of the region in question and the country as a whole.

In present conditions virtually every meeting or session is an open clash of opinions, an impassioned struggle between different views. Party workers are required to become real political workers capable of heeding other people's opinions, analyzing them, getting to the heart of the matter, and setting aside whatever is secondary or erroneous. Every Communist today, not to mention party leaders, is required to become a political leader, a political fighter.

There is an increasing awareness that the party cannot be an ideological leader without theoretical work. In recent years great efforts have been made in this respect. It would have been impossible to prepare and begin to implement the radical economic reform without theoretical work, or to prepare and begin to implement the equally radical political reform. The idea has been put forward to restore Lenin's full theoretical and practical concept of socialism.

The question immediately arises: Why are we talking mainly about the restoration of Lenin's concept of socialism? After all, Lenin thought and worked more than 60 years ago. Some scientists express the view that there was no such thing as Lenin's concept of socialism, there were only individual ideas. While still respecting my colleagues, it is my conviction that one cannot agree with such opinions. It is quite clear to me that the basic Leninist ideas on socialism, in their totality, give us a sufficiently full idea of the humanist principles of this structure of the socialist society, the nature of its economic organization, and the democratic nature of socialism.

The party has many tasks. But perhaps the key ideological and political task is that of developing socialist democracy in the country and democracy within the party itself. This is the key to activating the people. Success in developing socialism can be achieved only on condition of the masses' activeness.

Restructuring Sets High Standards for Party

PM2802164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Special Demands on Communists: A Principled Approach—the Immutable Demand of the CPSU Rules"]

[Text] Among other questions, restructuring in the activity of party organizations has raised the following question: How are measures of influence being applied to Communists who break the CPSU statutes? The party's self-cleansing which followed the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress, which took place exactly 3 years ago, has enabled it to rid itself of a considerable proportion of the "nomenklatura deadwood," people whose actions (or inaction) have discredited the name of Communist.

High exactingness toward one another is the fundamental principle of Communists' mutual relations. The revolutionary transformations taking place in the country now unite party members closely and direct them toward common work. At the same time they cannot ignore facts which attest to indifference and sometimes to obstacles on the path toward renewal. Are there really so few people left at plants, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and institutions who are CPSU members on paper only? When it suits them they forget our ideals and call the party's prestige into question by their unworthy conduct. Quite a few of them overtly violate discipline and the statutory requirements. This should not be overlooked by party organizations.

You would think that there was no need to mention that all party members are equal before the CPSU statutes. But... The problem is that in reality people still often look to officials and are afraid "to offend" a comrade in a position of responsibility. The result is "diplomatic" pardons and innocuous phrases. Does that not lead to total license and the notion of one's own exclusivity?

At Svetlinskiy CPSU Raykom in Orenburg Oblast last year, 18 (!) workers of the rayon's party, soviet, economic, and law-enforcement organs were severely reprimanded after an obkom investigation into various misdemeanors. There had been systematic violations of the housing law there, distortion of data, and an abnormal moral and psychological atmosphere had come about in many labor collectives. It had reached the point where a section of the population twice held rallies against the unworthy work style of the local authorities. It would seem that all the culprits got their just desserts. But no. V. Nikitin and A. Kulik, first and second secretaries of the CPSU raykom, were just mildly rebuked for lax party control and an unprincipled approach toward the evaluation of violations of the socialist rule of law. What was the outcome of this tactfulness? Judging by the letters which continue to come in from Svetlinskiy Rayon, there have been no changes in the style of activity of the leaders punished. Furthermore, A. Kulik was shortly thereafter expelled from the CPSU for driving an official car while drunk.

Did the aforementioned party workers deserve leniency? After all, before their very eyes things were happening which enraged the rayon's inhabitants. With their knowledge apartments went to waste, honest people were persecuted, and economic managers who committed criminal offenses were shielded from responsibility. Exactingness should be even more rigorous for such offenses. What prestige will the party leader have among Communists and working people if instead of restructuring he continues the traditions of the years of stagnation?

As a rule, protection is necessary for this sort of thing to exist, and you can hardly expect changes while the Communists who form the discredited functionary's immediate entourage remain silent and regard his regular transgressions with indifference. The strengthening of the power of the elected organs and the elimination of the "omnipotence" of the apparatus should also have a tangible effect on the level of scrupulousness when examining questions of punishment. It is intolerable that certain individuals are exempt from measures of party influence.

In recent months PRAVDA has twice described serious abuses of office by Z. Mamedov, first secretary of Apsheronskiy Azerbaijan Communist Party Raykom. You would think that only a few episodes from the long list of violations would be necessary for him to be called strictly to account by the party. However, it emerges that he was relieved of his post quite recently... at his own request. What lesson will the rayon party organization draw from that? Only one: The leader is infallible. One wonders why the republic Communist Party Central Committee accepted such a reaction to a sharply critical newspaper article?

There is another aspect of this problem. In some places people are not averse to using penalties as a means of intimidation and a way of settling scores with those they dislike. Each day the editorial office receives many letters complaining about unfair reprimands. You express your opinion, criticize, or simply displease someone and the next thing you know—it becomes a personal matter.

RSFSR meritorious consumer services worker and mother of three V.F. Taranina, director of the Lipetsk Oblast hairdressers association, was expelled from the CPSU and sacked because the summer house registered in her husband's name was claimed to be larger than it was supposed to be. For several years this woman toured the offices of various authorities trying to prove her case. Finally all the charges against her were lifted by superior organs and Valentina Fedorovna was reinstated to the party without penalty. But she was not reinstated in her job. The association's workers have written to PRAVDA about this on a number of occasions (one letter has been published) and described how there have been many directors since Taranina but the work of the once stable and advanced collective has deteriorated constantly. Unfortunately, at Lipetsk CPSU Obkom, where they are very familiar with this story, they pretend that nothing unusual has happened.

The question in this context concerns the responsibility of those people who would like to use the party statutes as they see fit. Indeed, someone must be accountable for the moral injury caused to an innocent person.

Democratization is unfettering Communists' initiative; they are increasingly actively joining in the process of renewal and raising their voices against negative phenomena in our life. Restructuring's opponents are trying to attack those who are intolerant of their shortcomings and bombard them with rebukes. The bureaucrats are waging a desperate rearguard action. However, party organizations are beginning to distinguish between retribution for misdeeds and blatant revenge and are increasingly boldly rejecting attempts to settle scores.

Measures of punishment must serve to strengthen discipline, order, and organization in the party because the process of cleansing the party continues, and it is a long and sometimes agonizing process. But it is necessary for the moral health of the CPSU, and thus every offense committed by a party member is an emergency which demands the appropriate attention, a principled approach, and tact. Now more than ever we need a high level of cohesion and exactingness toward one another. For the good of restructuring and the renewal of society.

Lithuanian Central Committee Secretary Interviewed

Reports Meeting With Gorbachev

LD2602200189 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 17 Feb 89

["First part" of interview with Algirdas-Mikolas Kazevich Brazauskas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by Benas Rupeika; date and place not given]

[Text] [Rupeika] You went to Moscow and you met with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Brazavskas] Yes, I met him and we spent quite a long time talking together in a very relaxed atmosphere. We discussed various questions which are topical to our republic.

[Rupeika] Was this an invitation to go and see him or was this visit arranged on your initiative?

[Brazauskas] It was my wish to do so. I phoned him and I asked him to receive me. He agreed to that very willingly and so i made a special trip to Moscow.

Many questions were discussed there. One of them was the issue concerning republican self-dependence. I should say, we concentrated on its practical implementation. I am sure that after this conversation the matters will proceed with greater speed; this can already be noticed.

The republican constitution, which is of great importance to us, was our second issue to be discussed.

[Rupeika] Do we have to understand that beginning with the next year the republic will be transferred to the model of the republican economic self-dependence? Is that right?

[Brazauskas] Yes, that is correct. You may say this. This is practically going to happen.

[Rupeika] Wel,l then, your stubborness, your firmness yielded results, after all.

[Brazauskas] Yes it did, and very quickly. Right at the beginning when we raised this issue, and we raised it rather pressingly to the USSR Government, we were not adequately understood, but now our aspirations are more and more understood by people on whom our matters depend.

The preparatory work for the transition in 1990 has already started; our economists will therefore have quite a lot of work to carry out.

[Rupeika] Tonight I believe we will be able to elaborate on this topic during the television program "The Government Studio."

[Brazauskas] Indeed, our economists will take part in the program tonight. Comrade Zaikauskas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, will also take part. He was chairman of the State Planning Comittee and one of the coauthors of the economic self-dependence project model. I think that this issue will be discussed on a wider scale on the program, because these arguments or statements that the Baltic republics are [word indistinct] and cannot support themselves, and that intersectoral balance of payments indicate that the Baltic republics are freeloaders, is a disputable issue.

However, such statements as were voiced yesterday, during holiday events, that we have extremely good economic potential, that if the tap of oil is turned off then we would stop supplying meat and let other people die of hunger—well, I say this jokingly, because from the economist's point of view this sounds like a joke.

[Rupeika] So the economic self-dependence will have to be proved by work and not by theories.

[Brazauskas] Yes, only by work and by a highly qualified work at that. Forces will have to be greatly consolidated. I think that both Sajudis and the economists who are widely discussing this on television, radio, and in the press should take an active part in proving and organizing this economic model.

[Rupeika] Namely, not only pointing out more and more shortcomings but also proving their support of this conception to the administration of the republics by their concrete deeds.

[Brazauskas] Yes, much effort was spent criticizing the economic model which is currently in operation, saying it is not effective enough. We see this indeed. However, now we have to come together and by joint efforts set up and implemented a model that would be very effective and that would increase the level and the potential of our economy.

[Rupeika] Now going back to the issue of the draft constitution.

[Brazauskas] The draft of our constitution was discussed by a commission of experts at the State law Institute at the USSR Academy of Sciences, and also by other specialists. This week a sitting of this commission took place.

Comrade Astrauskas, chairman of our Supreme Soviet Presidium, and a group of lawyers from Lithuania took part in the sitting. Together with specialists from all-union institutes the draft constitution was discussed. I can say now—and this is what pleases us—that on the whole there was no difference of opinion and the draft constitution was found rather original in its content; it is absolutely new and has little similarity with other constitutions currently in force today, both in the republics and of the whole country, the USSR Constitution.

Of course attempts were made by some people to compare the currently operating constitution of 1977 with the draft constitution of today, and they were severely criticized. I support this because I think that today in the time of restructuring this is impossible. Our thinking must be qualitatively new concerning both relations between republics and the concept of the republican sovereignty, which is absolutely different. Then there is the relationship of union republics with the center, this federal relationship.

We are full of optimism. During my visit with the general secretary I raised this issue, I should say I raised this issue pressingly, that in the nearest future we must make this constitution public because it was planned by the decision of our Supreme Soviet.

Well, everything is in the future; much work is still to be carried out. We are the first and breaking the ice has been very difficult. Personally, I have become convinced of this. Of course, if we had support from other republics it would be significantly better.

Yet another issue voiced at our meeting was that our draft constitution, the present variant of the draft constitution, could become a classical model for other union republics. So you see that we are solving not only issues on our republic's sovereignty, but we can participate in the all-union process of democratization and setting up of the rule-of-law state.

Speaking quite frankly, what is your impression of the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev? Optimism?

[Brazauskas] Optimism indeed. I told him a lot about what is going on in our republic, what decisions we have adopted.

I told him about 16 February, the national holiday and why we made it legal. He supported the idea. He is a lawyer of international law and a lawyer of state law. He understands these issues and I was simply pleased that he understood this.

There was yet another question I raised—and I hope will be solved very positively—which is the destiny of Arturas Sakalauskas [soldier who was bullied into killing his friends]. He gave his strong support and said that this question should be resolved. Certain instructions have already been given. I will not mention by name those to whom they were addressed. I had a chance to see other high-ranking people who are involved in solving these questions. I returned in a very good mood. I even spoke to Arturas' father and he was very greatful. I think that all this may end well.

Second Part of Interview Aired

LD0203211189 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 24 Feb 89

["Second part" of interview with Algirdae-Mikolas Kazevich Brazauskas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by Benas Rupeika; in Vilnius; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rupeika] I think a journalist from a foreign newspaper, was it CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, was in your office before me, and probably asked you again about the relationship between the party and the Sajudis. While reading articles in foreign newspapers and listening to reports by foreign news agencies I got the impression that here in Lithuania only two political forces are seen: the party and the Sajudis.

However, perhaps we should say that there are more political forces in Lithuania; perhaps these forces did not exist but they have sprung up, and processes which had taken place in Latvia and Estonia are being repeated. Over there the consolidation and polarization of forces has already taken place, the period of rallies and parades is over. However, here this process has only started, and at best it is not yet halfway through.

[Brazauskas] Yes, you are right in this respect; there are other political forces here. Perhaps we speak less about them. Take the Yedinstvo rally which is still spoken about in the press. Clear statements were made about it at the plenum. Of course, the methods used, say to go on strikes, to issue threats, etc., are not the right start. Common goals should be looked for, the ones I spoke about at the beginning. I would think that such open and argumentative dialogue would yield better results than such measures.

We understand that the law about the use of Lithuania raised a wave of people's emotions, and this is only natural. We are trying to explain it to people, using all the means available, that this decree by no means violates their civic rights, that it only legalizes Lithuanian as the state language. It does not concern the education system, it does not concern people's everyday family life. [passage indistinct] I would think that this issue alone—the Lithuanian language—should not define the comprehensive nationality relations of all nationalities living in Lithuania.

[Rupeika] There are significantly more of these aspects: to use this decree as a pretext or precedent for such actions as political blackmail, such as when a small group of people at an enterprise switches off the power and the operation of the enterprice stops. There were such incidents.

[Brazauskas] In general such practices are blameworthy.

[Rupeika] Are such actions blameworthy in legal terms?

[Brazauskas] Of course. There are laws in operation and perhaps measures foreseen by law should be taken. [passage omitted]

Some organizations here behave very improperly indeed. There are cases where people of other nationaltiies are not given a job, or raise a question like this: If there is Lithuanian citizenship, can people of other nationalities become citizens of Lithuania? Which is ridiculous. This issue is inhuman and offensive, and it is tactless too.

[Rupeika] You probably watched Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the Chernobyl AES yesterday on television, as probably did the greater part of our population here in the republic. While watching the pictures of Chernobyl we were all thinking about the Snieckus AES [Ignalina AES].

I do not know if you are going to support the impression I got: Young people who had come to work in this AES from other parts of the country, from Leningrad or Moscow, are immediately confronted with the atmosphere of intolerance which is existing around Snieckus, and having been met with such confrontation they themselves become ill disposed too. [passage omitted]

A day before yesterday you made a visit to the Vilnius Higher Military School. [passage omitted]

Military men, their families—this should also be an object of politics, an object of political work, because all the information they receive about the life of our republic, finally about the activities of [word indistinct] is very narrow, sometimes even inadequate.

[Brazauskas] Information available to them is the information presented by the republican media in Russian.

[Rueika] I have in mind a wider circle of military men, in general those who are serving their military service here in Lithuania. This is a large group of people with large political potential.

[Brazauskas] Yes, a considerable group, and the questions they asked me at the higher military school are characteristic of other collectives, too. Very many questions were asked concerning the use of Lithuanian as the state language. One question that caused me some concern was that one officer complained that their wives find it difficult to get employment. We will have to do something about it. [passage omitted]

As I said, we have been discussing for a long time how to define the content and how to formulate our tactics. However, all our steps are dictated by the perspectives. Where are we going further? What are we going to do? [passage indistinct] Perhaps in my report I worded it too directly and too literally. I mean when I mentioned Karabakh. However, this thought never abandons me. It never leaves me and I am returning to it again.

If we continue leaping and rushing about with our political conceptions, or having no political conceptions at all, or we do not think how this conception could be implemented, then where are we going to end up? What is our perspective? Is it going to get better, or is it going to get worse? Are we going to be understood or are our ideas going to be totally dismissed, or perhaps they will begin correcting us? Perhaps somebody will help us work? I don't think anybody will help, we should do the work ourselves. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Candidate Juozaitis Explains Withdrawal
LD0503162289 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 3 Mar 89

[A related report was published in the 6 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on p 80]

[Text] As we reported yesterday, Arvydas Juozaitis, philosopher, member of the Lithuanian restructuring movement Sajudis Seimas Council, and candidate to the People's Deputies, withdrew his candidacy and left the election campaign.

At the request of our correspondent Arvydas Juozaitis gives his comments on his move.

[Begin Juozaitis recording] A serious candidate in a serious election cannot represent only himself. Therefore, I feel I am in democratic enough surroundings. I was nominated by the Seimas Council, and I was registered in the same constituency as Comrade Algirdas Brazauskas. Today my candidacy has been withdrawn by the Seimas Council. This decision was made without taking a vote, but it was virtually a unanimous council decision.

This decision was prompted by sound political common sense. We saw clearly that the forces of stagnation at the Central Committee were consolidating and Brazauskas's position was weakened. Despite all the mistakes A. Brazauskas made—in our point of view—in November, when he did not allow us to adopt constitutional amendments analogous to those adopted by the Estonians, despite the current strengthening of the forces of stagnation as the practical result of these mistakes; despite all of this, we now have to support Brazauskas's flanks—not so much Brazauskas personally, but his wing—those people who are prepared for more serious changes in Lithuania in the process of democratizing society. We have to support him and we must render this support by taking clear steps so that it is seen that we are supporting him, that this is not just talk and promises. This kind of clear step could be my withdrawal from the competition with him because the competition promised to be real enough.

Having taken these steps, we simply indicate that we favor cooperation with the progressive wing of the Central Committee. That there is a split in the Central Committee is something we ascertained in our statement on 24 February. Yes, according to us, the Central Committee is split. Recent changes in the content of the Central Committee demonstrate that this split is deepening and that this is not benefiting the progressive wing in the Central Committee.

Therefore, we extend our hand to the progressive wing, and we will observe the reaction. We took the initiative ourselves without any pressure from outside. [end recording]

Brazauskas Interviewed on Party's Goals, Sajudis

LD2702113489 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] In his regular radio interview on Friday, the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, returned to the questions discussed at the recent Party plenum. He also commented on the current political situation in this republic. Algirdas Brazauskas stressed in his radio interview that the Party's goals and tactics remain the same, which is the sovereign republic of the Lithuania (?in the)[word indistinct] of the USSR.

But the Party is worried by the fact that the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, which was earlier declaring its goal to help expand the restructuring process in this republic was changing its objectives. The Party secretary reminded that it was the Communist Party that had started this process. Every Lithuanian Communist Party [as heard] and the government of this republic was cooperating closely with the Sajudis movement so at the current period, the Party had to give an assessment of the dividing line between the Party and the Sajudis movement. He also said that the plenum should not be taken as a turn toward Stalinism and as a rejection of democracy.

Speaking on the forthcoming congress of agricultural workers who support the Sajudis movement, Algirdas Brazauskas (?remarked) that it was doubtful whether there was a need to convene two separate congresses of agricultural workers, the moreso that the congress of all Lithuanian agricultural workers was to be held after 2 weeks. Furthermore, the goals and programs of the two congresses did not differ. It would be more useful to convene a joint congress. By the way, this idea was advinced by the Sajudis movement, but Algirdas Brazauskas said in his radio interview that the Sajudis movement had rejected its own idea.

The first party secretary also spoke about the political forces which were active in Lithuania. He also touched the situation in the township of (Skespys), where the overwhelming majority of residents were non-Lithuanian. Algirdas Brazauskas also dwelt on the status of Party officials

Dismissed Lithuanian Academic Alleges 'Libel'

PM2802134389 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Feb 89 p 3

[Letter from Candidate of Philosophical Sciences I. Tikhonovich, member of the CPSU, former pro-vice-deacon of Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute Foreign Languages Department, under the rubric "Letter to Editorial Office": "Paradoxes of Glasnost, or How I Became an 'Enemy' of the Lithuanian People"; final paragraph is SOVETSKAYA LITVA comment]

[Text] Over the past few months I have become the target of a well-organized and systematic campaign of libel in the republic's Lithuanian language press. The first insinuation against me was published by the "Sajudis" newspaper ATGIMIMAS [name as transliterated] (No 4, 1988), the second by SAYUDZHIO ZHINIOS [name as transliterated] (No 55, 1988), the third by TARYBINIS MOKYTOJAS (No 4, 1988), the fourth by KALBA VILNYUS [name as transliterated] (No 3, 1989), the fifth by TARYBINIS PEDAGOGAS (No 4, 1989), and so forth.

Perhaps I should rejoice at my popularity, but the trouble is that all this "popularity" is built on ascribing to me statements which I have never made. For instance, I never called the Vilnius region a "Polish territory," never demanded the exodus of the Lithuanians to the Volga (or the Jews to Palestine or the Russians to Siberia); I have never considered the language of the Lithuanians to be "ugly," have never been a champion of the partition of the territory of the Lithuanian SSR, have never advocated Vilnius' annexation to Poland, and have never called for enmity between anyone within our common motherland—the USSR. In fact, it has all been quite the opposite. But it is these and some other idiocies which are ascribed to me by authors like K. Garshva, I. Shimelionis, and their ilk. The pinnacle of falsification was reached by Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute Professor Albinas Grishka who, in the newspaper TARYBINIS PEDAGOGAS (No 4, 1989), accused me of allegedly urging the Poles to "march on Kovno [former name of Kaunas]," of calling Lithuanians "an uncultured dwarf nation," of insulting Lithuanian scientists, and so forth.

I was struck by the fact that such libel had been descended to by A. Grishka, a CPSU member for several decades, and a man with considerable services to his credit in asserting the Soviet ideology and practice of socialism in Lithuania, who during the forties and fifties was already an activist of the party and its organs, a man whose own brother was shot as a Communist during the war by members of the Polish bourgeois underground.... He suggested, as a formal pretext for dismissing me from work, the "fact" that my candidate's dissertation was on an atheist theme. (Just in case, I cite its title: "Man and culture in the philosophy of T.V. Adorno"—that is a subject which has nothing in common with scientific atheism).

It is striking that all these fabrications in the general murky flood of anti-Russian, anti-Semitic, anti-Polish publications are printed by newspapers published under the slogan "workers of the world, unite!..." And these same publications rejected all my attempts to refute the lies. Algimantas Semashka, also responsible for the work of the press in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, said in response to my request that he could do nothing to help. Nor did "Sayudis" leader V. Landsbergis offer any help.

Surely glasnost in our country does not mean that a man can be libeled and at the same time prevented from defending his good name? If that is the case, then we had the same "glasnost" in Hitler's time and in Stalin's time....

SOVETSKAYA LITVA is my last hope. I state that I have always nurtured a feeling of sincere respect for the Lithuanian people and their legitimate rights, and in my articles I have criticized only specific people on specific issues irrespective of whether they were Lithuanians, Russians, or Poles. In particular, I have indicated the incompatibility of the status of a civilized state and socialist press with the unseemly campaign of persecuting Lithuanian Poles and Russians in which some press organs and renowned scientists are taking part. Anywhere in the world today (especially in the world of socialism) something of the kind would be simply inconceivable.

As a result of the false accusations from people who have never attended my lectures and who are disseminating gossip on the basis of hearsay, I have been dismissed from work and my entire family is living in a state of alarm and fear for the future. No, that is not the kind of "restructuring" that people expected.

(I think that the stepping up of my persecution was also caused by the fact that the working people of more than 10 collectives nominated me as candidate USSR people's deputy for the 686th electoral okrug, where I will "compete" against V. Chepaytis, one of the leaders of "Sajudis."

From the editorial office. We decided to publish I. Tikhonovich's letter since we believe that every citizen should have the right to reply, also publicly, to any public criticism leveled against him. It remains merely to be regretted that the press organs which criticized I. Tikhonovich did not allow him to speak himself.

Anti-Army Demonstrators in Riga Criticized
PM0803181589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Double Standards. SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA Postscript to 'News' Program's Commentary on the Festive Procession and Rally in Riga Marking the 71st Anniversary of the Soviet Army"]

[Text] Once again telephone lines to the editorial office are buzzing. Those who took part in the rally are angry about the assessments expressed on television. Those who know about the rally only from the remarks of television journalist A. Mirlin are worried by the instances of the "demonstrators' aggression" which he cited. So what is the truth? Maybe the participants in the wreath laying, procession, and rally failed to notice something? Were the intentions of any of them really unpeaceable, or are we once again encountering the morbid perceptual disturbances that periodically afflict Latvian television personnel?

In order to obtain objective information, we turned to those who were maintaining public order that day in the line of duty. Here is what N. Goncharenko, deputy chief of the city internal affairs administration, told us:

"On 23 February each year we see a festive procession in the streets of Riga. This time, as is well known, war and labor veterans, members of the International Front, and anyone who had responded to their invitation to stage a festive demonstration took part in the procession. According to our calculations, there were about 100,000 people in all. The placards carried by the demonstrators supported the Soviet Army and the policy of restructuring and contained calls to strengthen friendship between the Lettish and Russian peoples; some of the slogans expressed people's attitudes toward the draft law on languages and the elections of USSR people's deputies.... The demonstrators made no insulting attacks, they marched peacefully.

"Those who had decided at all costs to wreck the procession and to spoil the holiday behaved in a totally different way. Even before the start of the procession around 100-150 people staged a 'stop-action' to prevent the 'occupation army' from passing the Freedom Monument. They were mostly the members of informal associations who have long been picketing the building of the republic's council of ministers and the headquarters of the Baltic Military District. Their placards were manifestly provocative: 'Liberators? No! They were simply rescued. If during the war America and Britain had not given you products and the American patent that you dubbed the "Katyusha" the Russian nation would not exist.' '22 June 1941 was a good reward for "good" work in Latvia in 1940. 1940—Siberian exile. 1941—Salaspils, Rumbula. Everyone gets what they deserve!' 'Russian gangsterism has failed in the Afghan adventure. Ha ha! They wanted Riga but got a fig, so to speak!' and others. (The style and spelling of the placards is the authors'.)

"These people were extremely aggressive and shouted anti-Soviet slogans. Incidentally, it was then that the incident involving the taxi traveling along Padomju Boulevard from the direction of Kr. Barona Street and turning right onto Lenin Street occurred. The people blocking traffic tried to stop the car and rained blows on it. Two citizens taking part in the 'stop-action' were hurt in the incident. It is being investigated. We believe that the cab driver did not violate the traffic regulations.

"In order to free the way for vehicles and people to pass the monument, a State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate vehicle was sent to it. But the crowd fell on the car and began to push it off the roadway. One L. Kruminya was the most aggressive in her behavior. We did not deem it advisable to use physical force to clear the way, since there were many elderly women in the crowd, which was now some 1,000-1,200 strong. So we directed the column of demonstrators along a different route, forming a corridor of militiamen. But the people who were trying to prevent the demonstration found any gap in this living corridor in order to kick and jostle demonstrators as they walked past. They grabbed one veteran's banner and hit

him with the pole. The identity of the assailant is being established. Military musicians came in for a particularly rough time. There were constant insulting shouts and abuse from the crowd.

"However, the demonstrators did not succumb to the provocations; what is more, they called on the hooligans to come to their senses and take part in the procession. Latvian State University students 'distinguished themselves' by putting on Volunteer People's Militia armbands without any authorization and impeding the passage of the columns of demonstrators. Incidentally, the students of this VUZ have yet another 'valiant' deed to their credit: A. Ankraus, 2d-year student in the Chemistry Faculty, hung a black flag out of the window of a hostel. Administrative proceedings are being taken against him. Twenty-four people were taken to the militia station for violations of the rules for holding rallies and processions, and so that their identity could be established and checked, and the question of administrative proceedings is being decided with regard to five of them."

Now you can judge for yourselves. According to the television journalist's interpretation, when some people brandish provocative banners it is a manifestation of individual freedom, but when others wave red banners it is an objectionable action. When some bawl "Down with the occupation army!" it is a free expression of the people's will, but when others chant toasts to the Soviet Army it is the brutish roaring of the mob. Out of the whole slew of epithets that television bestowed on the demonstrators, there is only one that is entirely apt: The demonstration was indeed a show of strength. Because the many thousands of demonstrators did not respond in kind to the insults and blows. That is evidence of people's goodwill and strong unity.

Just a day before the procession and rally the leadership of the informal associations declared on television that their members would not take part in counterdemonstrations. If that was not hypocrisy, they should themselves investigate those who did launch the provocations. Otherwise how are we to trust leaders who wield no authority in their own organizations and have no idea what is going on behind their backs?

Latvia Journalists' Congress Hears Party Chief

PM2302121489 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 7 Feb 89 pp 1, 3

[LATINFORM report: "For Restructuring—Uncompromisingly: Extraordinary Congress of the Latvian SSR Journalists' Union"]

[Text] At the beginning of his speech Ya. Peters rejected what has become a common juxtaposition: Enough discussion, now let us work. That is the know-it-alls' attitude. But many people are now turning to an older saying: Not enough people know how little we know to enable us to learn how little we know. Who are we, where do we come from, and where are we going; who are we, how do others see us? It was by answering this last question and analyzing the most acute problems of concern to journalists that I.Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, began his speech on 4 February, the second day of the congress. He said, in part: How do people in the West see us? There is very great interest in restructuring there. And it must be said that when we were in Denmark recently, virtually all the newspapers were writing about Latvia. And in this context our foreign colleagues, regardless of whether they belong to bourgeois parties or left-wing forces, emphasized: We are grateful for the restructuring Moscow has started. Which problems are they most interested in? First and foremost they talk about the responsibility of the Baltic republics for the fate of restructuring in the country. Second, stability is necessary. Do everything to ensure stability, they told us, because Comrade Gorbachev and the active forces of restructuring need a stable Baltic region.

We want to be part of Europe. Correct. But let us look at ourselves. How can we say, today, that we work by European methods? We are learning, unfortunately, we are still only learning, and I include myself in that. We need constant international contacts. It is necessary to work in such a way as to give our journalists direct access to foreign countries. I do not want to discuss particularly widely today the question of our receiving possibly one-sided information from the central press. I do not want to place particular emphasis on that. But while in Denmark we felt that that information is inadequate. Therefore I would like the new leadership of the Latvian Journalists' Union to create and realize foreign contacts among journalists.

We affirm that even the party does not have a monopoly of the truth. But I repeat again that the party started restructuring. People living in the stagnation years found the strength to start this restructuring. And I am profoundly convinced that there are men of restructuring in the new republican leadership. Therefore journalists should support us, not try, after a few months of work, to complicate matters on the path on which the new republican leadership has embarked. We undoubtedly see you as a great force. But please bear in mind that there is also the party press, there is ATMODA, too, and Interfront has asked permission to publish a news organ of its own. You will agree that there are TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, which should express the Central Committee's opinion. By what methods? You may have noticed that republican leaders now appear on television much more often. This has already become a tradition. You know we write in the all-union press, too. This does not always turn out confident and convincing, but the course we have begun must continue.

Sessions are now held openly. I think the time is not far off when we will transmit Central Committee plenums on television, too. We have no secrets that the people

should not know. The more the people know, the more correct our course will be in our work. That is my profound conviction.

Now for rayon journalists. I have been asked a specific question, which I will now answer. The workers on the Stuchkinskiy Rayon newspaper asked me this question. They found themselves without an editor. There is one promising candidate. But he is a nonparty comrade. Can such a man be editor of a rayon newspaper? You remember the case of Raymond Pauls. So it is not a question of being a party member or not. But remember that this is the newspaper of the party raykom and rayispolkom. They, of course, should decide. Decide questions like that collectively, do not bring them to the Central Committee.

The Central Committee secretary also spoke about a number of other problems of concern to the audience. The legal protection and social security of journalists, journalists' ethics. He stressed that democracy must be fought for by democratic methods.

Journalists who spoke discussed the most urgent aspects of public life in Latvia—the economy, ethnic relations, stopping migration, ecological problems, social justice. It was stressed that mass media workers are for restructuring—uncompromisingly. And what people think about us in the West is not the only thing that matters to us. It also matters what people think in the East, here in our own home. In this connection, particular attention was devoted to the Russian-language press, from which both a significant proportion of the local population and inhabitants of other regions of the country and foreign readers obtain their information. The situation has arisen where it is no longer possible to do without some kind of reorganization, without the publication of supplements, for instance, to the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA.

A varied approach emerged to the assessment of the Law on the Press that is being drafted. In fact, this assessment was based mainly on the fact that the law—in the spirit of the best traditions of stagnation—is being drafted somewhere or other, by someone or other, behind closed doors, and only a few echoes reach those whose lives and work will be regulated by the law. Therefore the opinions of the speakers differed, in general: Some proposed sending a group of journalists and lawyers to Moscow to participate in drafting the law, others asserted that that is not necessary at all, or that it should be a republican law, or not about the press, but about information. People spoke in various ways about the secrecy of various kinds of information and the tyranny of officials in this sphere, some with irony, some with sorrow, some with indignation.

The mass media, as much as other organizations and enterprises, are subject to central diktat. Many speakers at the congress noted, in particular, that the considerable income earned by journalists goes no one knows where. On republican publications that yield a lower profit or even make a loss, the staffers' wages are often much higher and staffing levels higher than on highly profitable publications that enjoy popularity.

The assessments made of various republican publications: These, in the spirit of pluralism, differ markedly. Some people criticize primarily the newspapers PADOMYU YAUNATNE and LITERATURA UN MAKSLA and the television program "Labvakar!", others the newspapers TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA and LATINFORM. The republican leadership, the speakers said, should take into account the position put forward, in particular, by I.Ya. Kezbers at the congress, that not even the party has a monopoly of the truth. And that there should be a dialogue: between people, leadership, and journalists. And the dialogue should be conducted for the sake of discovering the truth, not in order to prove that you are right or your opponent is wrong, or, even worse, to seek an enemy and pin labels on people. There was general approval for the view that it is necessary to employ not the authority of strength, but the strength of authority.

An important group of problems is connected with the functioning of the Latvian Journalists' Union itself. It was noted that its former leadership has fallen behind the development of the activeness of the mass media, and should be replaced. But what program will the new leadership implement? It cannot be said that it was defined sufficiently fully and comprehensively at the congress. The constraints of existing regulations within the framework of the USSR Journalists' Union also do not help. Therefore the demand was put forward to form a Journalists' Union of the Latvian SSR proper.

Not everything went smoothly at the forum. Naturally, when a Central Committee worker and an editor engage in a battle of words from the platform, this detracts from the discussion of really topical issues. There were also attempts at provocations. But it appeared that this time those conducting the congress, learning from the experience of earlier forums, managed to dissociate themselves in good time from any abuse. And there were plenty of flowers and good wishes, including the most important wish: May you have the strength to go on!

The Congress of Journalists of the Latvian SSR adopted a resolution on the most important questions.

Estonian Planning Official on Domestic Market

LD2602203389 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Chairman of the Estonian Planning Committee Rein Otsason says that even fairly unusual measures are taken in Estonia to protect the domestic markets. In an interview he gave to Yleisradio [Finnish Broadcasting Company] Otsason says that even postal parcels are investigated in Estonia to stop the consumer goods from flowing out. The chairman of the Estonian Planning

committee emphasizes the importance of economic independence, that is, among other things like Estonia's own currency and foreign trade. From Tallinn, here is Annu Hirvensalo reporting.

[Begin Recording] Every Estonian has at least 1,000 rubles, that is, just over 7,000 Finnish markkas in a bank account. This also means that they have at least 6 months' salary at their disposal. despite this, the money is not enough for anything else but living sparingly. If you want to acquire something bigger for the home, like a television, washing machine, or a sofa, the prices are really high by Estonian standards. One must wait for the goods from 6 months to 6 years. This is said by the Chairman of the Estonian Planning commission Rein Otsason in the interview he gave to Yleisradio he criticizes the current practice with harsh words, saying Moscow dictates how much and what individual Soviet republics must produce.

Last September the development of a new economic program began in Estonia. The aim of this program is to make Estonia economically independent. The program aims to get both private individuals and the industry more squarely on their feet.

One of the basic questions of the program is to get an Estonian currency. According to Rein Otsason the idea might seem odd to outsiders, because if you think of western united states, like the United States of America or Switzerland, the states in these united states do not have their own currency. According to the Estonian model the Estonian currency could be exchanged in rubles with a fixed exchange rate.

The second basic question is foreign trade and enterprise connections to the West. At the moment Estonia has 14 joint enterprises with Western countries. These connections are primarily with finland, but there are also joint enterprises with the FRG and Venezuela. We have many things to sell the chairman of the Planning committee, Rein Otsason says. The main part of these are raw material or semifinished goods. The current level of the Estonian industry does not give the possibility to compete on the world market. According to the economic program being developed the aim is to renew the Estonian manufacturing plants so that the competitiveness of the products and the profitability of the competition improves. According to Otsason this is the most important force, with which the living standard of the entire Estonia can be improved.

Otsason states that the budget deficit of the Soviet Union is about 100,000 million rubles, that is about 700,000 million Finnish markkas. The problem of Estonia according to him is that the Estonians are not allowed to protect their own market effectively enough. Large amounts of consumer goods are taken from here elsewhere in the Soviet Union. A little while ago a special export limitation agreement was made in Estonia. This agreement has been blessed by Moscow and the aim of the agreement is to stop the consumer goods from flowing elsewhere. Also, tourists, who come primarily from Leningrad and [name indistinct], have been put under a buying ban. Certain goods, like food, sweets and underwear the tourists are not allowed to take out of Estonia.

The post office has received a special possibility to investigate postal parcels. A little while ago a parcel containing 100 toothpaste tubes was opened. According to Otsason it was a matter of pure hoarding; therefore, the parcel was not forwarded. He admits that this is not a civilized way of taking care of the economy, but he says that these sorts of emergency measures must be taken because otherwise the situation cannot be managed.

According to Rein Otsason the fact that a decision has been made in Moscow guaranteeing greater independence for the Soviet republics is the result of work done by economists in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Estonia hopes that this would take place as soon as possible and Estonia is going forward on this road in the spirit of perestroyka. Otsason says that perestroyka in Estonia is fighting today for the future. [end recording]

Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Meets
NC2502094889 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Representatives of the republic's cultural and scientific intellectuals participated in an Armenian Communist Party Central committee yesterday.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting with a speech.

During the meeting, views were exchanged on a wide range of issues concerning Armenia's social-economic situation, the implementation of measures to eliminate the quake aftermath, and on ways to normalize conditions for the life and activities of the residents in the disaster areas. Also, discussions were held on cultural and scientific issues; on the development of the mother tongue; on the [word indistinct] of special administration in Nagorno-Karabakh; and on the further strengthening of social, economic, and cultural ties with the autonomous oblast. Issues such as the placement of refugees, the normalization of inter-ethnic relations in the region, and the (?wide measures) concerning the economical use of electrical power in view of the imminent closure of the atomic power station in Armenia were also discussed.

Heads and officials of the republic's cultural and scientific organizations, authors and journalists gave speeches. Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, also addressed the meeting.

Official on Unemployment After Armenian Earthquake
LD2502041189 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan, February 24 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Sergey Svistunov:

About 167,000 people lost their work places, a half of them in industry, as a result of the devastating earthquake in Soviet Armenia on December 7, last year, said Ivan Semyonov, chairman of the Republic's State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs.

Following the natural calamity, he said in an interview with a TASS correspondent, we immediately began to tackle the problem of employment, and much has already been done. The number of people who live in the earthquake-hit areas and who have not yet been provided with jobs is about 40,000. Not only these people but also those who were evacuated will be given jobs before the end of the year, Semyonov emphasized.

"Noone will sustain material damage owing to the forced unemployment. The workers are paid an allowance for every day of being out of work to an amount which is not less than two thirds of their wage and, in a number of cases, equal to it. This is done in addition to the payment of compensation to the population for the damage inflicted by the earthquake.

Citizens Urged To Observe Laws in Armenia
LD2702144489 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 19 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] On 18 February a group of citizens gathered in Abovyan, led by V. Yengibaryan and incited by irresponsible persons, to hold an unlicensed meeting. Thanks to measures taken, the meeting was prevented from taking place, and its organizers are now being subjected to administrative control.

The Armenian SSR Internal Affairs Ministry wishes to make it clear that in accordance with the 29 July 1988 decree of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, similar meetings may be held solely by permission of the Soviet authorities.

The Armenian SSR Internal Affairs Ministry again appeals to citizens for calm and sagacity, and for strict observance of Soviet laws. Every instance of violation of public order will be decisively halted.

Central Asian Premiers Meet 19-20 Feb, Sign Protocol
LD2502163289 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan are a large economic region of the country and make a substantial contribution to the unified complex of the USSR national economy. The first meeting between Uzbek SSR Premier Kadyrov, Kazakh SSR Premier Nazarbayev, Kirghiz SSR Premier Dzhumagulov, Tajik SSR Premier Khayeyev, and Turkmen SSR Premier Khozhamuradov took place in Dushanbe 19-20 February, in which the main attention was focussed on questions of deepening and developing cooperation among the fraternal peoples.

A joint protocol was signed, which has a various aims on restucturing of the party and in resolving topical tasks in connection with the implementation of the renovation on all aspects of the socialist life of society. An economic council was set up, composed of a working organ from among the republics and the chairmen of the state planning committees of the republics for making specific programs and proposals in implementing the jointly worked out direction of cooperation of the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan.

Meetings of the government leaders are planned to be held twice a year. [passage omitted]

Kazakhstan Party Plenum Set For 18 March
LD1602190189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0200 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau adopted a decision on convening the regular Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee 14th Plenum on 18 March of this year. It will discuss the organizational work of the republican party organization in implementing the resolutions of the 19th all-Union party conference.

Kazakh Officials Support Republic's Bilingualism
LD2602175189 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] The officers in charge in the southern republic of Kazakhstan are reported to have given their backing to the proposal by the local writers' union to write the republic's bilingual status into law. Ozbekali Dzhanibekov, a local party leader, said although the issue was of vital importance it was in no way an encroachment on the interests of other ethnic groups there. Kazakhs and Russians are said to be the two largest local groups and although poorly taught at schools their languages are being used for communication with other ethnic groups. Crash courses are being opened around Kazakhstan to learn the two languages.

Kirghiz Communist Party Plenum Discuss Tasks
LD2502131489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0814 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Frunze, 25 Feb (TASS)—The need to actively master political methods of leading the social and economic life of the republic and clearly demarcate the functions of party, soviet, and economic bodies was discussed at a plenum of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party which took place here today.

It was noted in the report by Absamat Masaliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the republic's communist party, and in speeches that the results of the latest report-and-election campaign show that many party organizations are attempting to elaborate new approaches to attaining economic, social and educational targets, and to improve forms of organizational work.

The plenum discussed the tasks of party organizations in strengthening political leadership over restructuring, and examined the matter of forming commissions of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party.

Belorussian Writer Interviewed on Informal Groups
PM0103102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Correspondent I. Gurinovich interview with Vasil Yakovenko, chairman of the Belorussian Writers' Union Commentators' Creative Section: "Restructuring Is Our Destiny"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Gurinovich] Vasil Timofeyevich, you have been writing very actively recently in various newspapers and journals on acute social themes. Please share your thoughts with SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA readers. Incidentally, we have collected many letters whose authors demand a reply to the questions which perturb them. The processes of restructuring are the focus of their attention....

[Yakovenko] Restructuring is our destiny, the destiny of the socialist revolution. Restructuring is a matter of honor to us. That, at least, is how writers understand the thrust of the epoch-making task which has been set before society. It requires intelligence, heart, emotions. Yes, yes! Indignation with regard to inertia and stagnation must be nurtured and supported, because we are people and not mechanisms, not robots, and any great cause depends on the state of our souls. Restructuring will brook no delay because what is being restructured is the house in which society lives, and lives uninterruptedly. And if restructuring drags on and turns into never-ending construction, then morality and the economy will suffer great losses.

In this connection let's take a look at our society on the historical plane. What has happened? What is happening? The people accomplished a revolution, threw off their oppressors, and should have switched to democratic self-rule through the soviets. Was that not the aim which was pursued? However, having declared the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Stalinist leadership began increasingly to depart from the interests of the proletariat and its own people. As a result democracy, and consequently the power of the soviets, were weakened and fettered.

I agree that there were labor victories, there was enthusiasm. There were also bright days. We marched, fought, and died with the cry: "For Stalin!" But not everyone, far from everyone who shouted that was a Stalinist. Stalin "personified" socialist ideals and the behests of Lenin at the time.... They shouted "For Stalin!" but they died for Lenin. That is the secret of the staunchness of our socialist system. Here lies the luminosity and tragedy of a whole historical era. Stalin, as has now become clear, created barracks socialism and trampled upon everything sacred. An oligarchy which took cover under the prestige of Lenin's party was formed over society. It developed dense layers of department chiefs, functionaries, apparatchiks, informers, and executioners. Today we are still sitting in Stalinism up to our ears, and we reassure ourselves with the new thinking. We are still quite timid, although we are learning to think critically. New approaches have indeed shown themselves in international politics, and their fruit can already be seen. But in economic policy, in the economy, there is sometimes a shortage of the new thinking, particularly locally.

[Gurinovich] Lenin attached decisive importance to the people's creative and political activeness in socialist building. In this, incidentally, he saw the chief counterweight to the bureaucracy which was taking shape at the time and numbing the cause. What is your view of the process of the working people's spiritual emancipation today?

[Yakovenko] Some politicians and scientists are cautious in speaking of another thaw. The ice has broken, although the ice floes are often spinning round on the spot. Ice hummocks are forming. The delaying mechanism continues to operate. People control and rule by twitching the reins leading from central ministries and departments. There are more than enough examples. Everyone knows them. So far we have failed to overcome leveling down and the surplus appropriation system. The present economic reform is geared to trained, creatively active, and essentially new people, but there are few of them and so far they are not held in honor by the bureaucratic powers that be. Under these conditions the creative individual is often ignored.

The 27th Communist Party Congress and the 19th all-union party conference set the task of destroying this bureaucratic system which generates cold and fetters society. Of course, the matter's success will depend not so much on a political leader as on his support from below. The people are awakening, albeit slowly. The repressive, almost innate, fear is impeding this, the toadying complexes acquired over decades, and alienation from labor and from public life are impeding this. I shall say that people have become disgusted with politics. The people are emerging from a state of lethargic sleep, so to speak, and are increasingly displaying activeness. Thus, for instance, at the Braslav No 42 mobile mechanized column the collective rejected the candidate people's deputy suggested to it from above and

submitted its own. Something unheard of! And although it did not succeed in nominating the "unofficial" candidate, the collective had taken the first step in political self-education.

[Gurinovich] Where do you see the features of the propaganda workers' corps under these conditions?

[Yakovenko] I believe that a specific, objective analysis is needed here. But it is an irrefutable fact that many propaganda and agitation workers have not found themselves in restructuring. As is well known, in the school, in order not to mislead the children, history examinations have been repealed. No one has repealed such an examination for social scientists, and they make up the overwhelming majority of members of the propaganda workers' corps. But in many cases they are not passing this examination. Within the walls of your editorial office I have met a professor who is attempting most actively to impose the idea that it is essential to ban both all informal associations and manifestations of dissent and creativity.... His credo is to place more trust in the man sitting above him and to prop up the powerful from below. Nothing new here! To be open and honest, I see the main weakness in the work of our ideological service in the fact that it often relies not on fresh forces but on those who once created stagnation and are now serving bureaucracy. Indeed, it seems to me that this mistake in ideological work is understandable. And conclusions are being drawn from it.

[Gurinovich] Although you yourself have said that there are few fresh forces....

[Yakovenko] Yes, nonetheless we must pay great attention to them in order not to push them away.... The future belongs to them. An outburst of activity can be observed, primarily among young people, who are forming tens and hundreds of the most diverse associations and clubs.

[Gurinovich] Please help our readers to find their way in the mazes of youth associations and various other associations. They confuse their programs, aims, and even names. For instance, what is "Talaka?"

[Yakovenko] I am not prepared to give you an exhaustive answer to that question, although I am familiar with the leaders of several independent associations and clubs. Of "Talaka" I can say only that it unites quite educated and resolute boys of a critical frame of mind. Maximalism is inherent in them. How is it manifested? Above all in the fact that they want to achieve everything at once, to impose their goals and will on society in practice, and to embark immediately on the implementation of their programs. Some "Talaka" members, it seems to me, are moved not so much by concern for the people's welfare (although it is there) as by their own missionary zeal and until recently somnolent voluntarism. They are in no haste to make public their program, but as far as I know they advocate the republic's complete sovereignty, the restoration of historical symbols, their own national bank with convertible currency, and so forth. To be fair I note that it is often our social reality and the barriers on the path of restructuring which make the boys maximalists in such political transformations.

I personally like the boys and girls from the "Tuteyshyya," "Pakhodnya," and "Uzgor'e" associations and the "Svitanok" students' association, which has played a considerable part in the Belorussian technological institute's projected transfer to the Belorussian language of study. They are all drawn to knowledge, to high standards, to civic activeness and intellectuality, and they are bringing their zest to the people. The "Martyrology of Belorussia" historical enlightenment society was formed in October 1988 at a meeting of the creative and technical intelligentsia in the Minsk Cinema Center. The society's aim is to restore the names of all victims of tyranny and to perpetuate their memory.

There is also an organizational committee for the "Adradzhenne" [name as transliterated] people's movement for restructuring. But here too it has its own difficulties and problems.

[Gurinovich] Please describe them at least briefly. Incidentally, why has work on the elaboration of the movement's policy document taken so long?

[Yakovenko] The commission to elaborate these documents was initially headed by the well-known writer and scholar A. Maldis. Circumstances obliged him to leave the organizational committee. The elaboration of the program fell into the hands of people who merge with the "Talaka" maximalists. The matter was submerged in recriminations....

[Gurinovich] Vasil Timofeyevich, as far as we know you have been elected chairman of the organizational committee of the "Adradzhenne" movement. Then there were rumors that you had left. How true is this?

[Yakovenko] One explanation is required here: I left the "Martyrology," of which I had not been a member.... You are surprised? I will try to explain. The situation is a complex one, with hidden currents. The wing of the radicals, inspired by Poznyak and Vecherko, was increasingly dragging the organizational committee toward "Talaka." You say what about Bykov, Panchenko, Gilevich, and our other writers? Surely they could not be "drawn" anywhere? No. However, they began to bypass even Bykov.... We were needed there, at the very beginning, for propaganda, cover, and assistance. Everything I say is bitter, but it must be confessed. The organizational committee closed into a narrow circle of "its own" people and, taking up residence in the writers' center, held closed sessions and prevented even writers from taking part in its activity.

Relying in my work on a bureau of the most authoritative comrades, I tried to introduce a modicum of conciliation, perhaps, to the people's committee, with its rather motley staff, to protect it from extremist, maximalist actions and ventures which in my view are unacceptable for a mass movement. This angered some people, susceptible to revolutionary snobbishness, who acknowledge no contacts or dialogue with the authorities. It is a pity that it is sometimes personal ambition which prevails among people laying claim to leadership in public associations. Do I have anything to do with such people? I don't know....

Finally Z. Poznyak said that there was no organizational committee, that it was all the "Martyrology of Belorussia." And that our committee was nothing but the action committee of the "Martyrology" which he heads. Then there began the purest politics mongering and expansion.... That was why I left the "Martyrology" and in fact left the organizational committee of the people's movement. Actually, the "Martyrology" is essentially not working. There are only charity evenings to collect funds for a memorial which are held with its participation. Was the committee created solely for that purpose?

[Gurinovich] We know of Nil Gilevich's proposal to institutions and other creative unions of the republic to hold a working conference of the founders of the "Adradzhenne" movement for restructuring, and to discuss the draft policy documents and very name of the movement.

[Yakovenko] Yes, I know an attempt has been made to rectify the matter. After all, it is none other than the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet people who, on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, state: "Restructuring must be struggled for, restructuring must be defended!" But how to struggle? How to defend? Alone? The consolidation of the forces which really advocate restructuring is needed. Such appeals are often heard. So what is preventing us from doing a common job not with two hands, for instance, but with hundreds, thousands, millions of hands? Fear that the initiative will be seized from someone? Now, let's still be dialecticians and remember that life proceeds through contradictions. Let restructuring become a nationwide creative laboratory. Where there is criticism, where there is an alternative to a particular decision, problems are resolved more rapidly and better, and life advances toward progress. But where we are told: You must carry out orders and we will decide—there, stagnation remains stagnation. In my entire life I have only once heard a man holding a quite responsible post appeal to the rayon newspaper editor: "Criticize everyone! I shall not take the bureau members under my wing. Criticize me, too, I shall not be offended!" That was U. Krishtalevich, who was able to manage without a fence between her and the people, who avoided elitism, and who protected the raykom party apparatus from that disease.

[Gurinovich] We are all in favor of consolidation. But for some reason it has become fashionable for many informal associations to oppose the local authorities.

[Yakovenko] Of course, the whole point is what the association is like and what its aims are, although as a whole the formation of such movements is a natural and objective process of the development of the democratic rule-of-law socialist society.

Sometimes, without realizing it, we transfer the "merits" of bureaucracy to all administrators and even party workers. That is unfair. And nonetheless, with the domination of conservatives in society, the opposition to the authorities has its own background, its own point.

The authorities are not always sufficiently attentive toward clubs and associations, do not investigate the true point of their work, and ignore requests and appeals to them. For instance, the "Spadchyna" club has been struggling so hard for the Minsk Gorispolkom to assign it premises to mount an exhibition and store paintings, folk handicrafts, and other relics of great artistic value. For a long time this has all been stored in a basement on Uralskaya Street and is being destroyed and rotting away. And whichever door the club chairman knocks on to ask for help—it is no good. An eloquent example. Is the city administration not thus artificially generating opposition to itself?

But much also depends on the sociopolitical orientation of the associations themselves and the nature of their work. Some associations are incapable of a critical attitude toward their own activity, still less of accepting criticism from elsewhere; they avoid dialogue and are unable to understand the other side.

In brief, there are various reasons. Nonetheless, the development of civic initiatives and the activity of various creative and sociopolitical associations is often restrained artificially and unjustifiably, which cannot fail to generate entirely justified condemnation in people.

[Gurinovich] And one last question. What do you expect from the meeting for restructuring in Minsk, and will you speak at it?

[Yakovenko] I personally will not go to the meeting, although I have been invited. Not because I have a negative attitude toward such public actions. The "Talaka" members have been urging us to attend meetings almost every week. For some reason they no longer see other forms of work. The "Adradzhenne" organizational committee, which has essentially become a field of activity for the "Martyrology" and "Talaka" leaders, has scarcely found these forms. It seems to me that until there are publicly announced sections of the movement's program and specific work in the support groups, holding meetings is like trying to frighten away a terrible snake with incantations. Of course, a meeting can still

boost people's morale. On the other hand it will perhaps show that it is possible to listen to the people and conduct dialogue with them openly.

I take an optimistic view of the democratization and socialization of public life in the republic. I shall be glad if the meeting does not take place in a formal manner, if it serves mutual understanding and the consolidation of the fraternal ties of our capital's inhabitants.

[Gurinovich] Thank you, Vasil Timofeyevich, for this open, keen, polemical talk. I hope our readers will continue it.

Positions of Belorussian 'Informals' Analyzed
PM0103105789 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

["Opinion" article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof A. Malashko: What Is Hampering the Unification of Restructuring Forces?"]

[Text] It is scarcely necessary to prove that the fate of restructuring is today decided not at street rallies and demonstrations, but at workplaces. This criterion makes it possible to conclude that the process of renewal in the republic has begun and is moving forward. The decline in return on capital has been arrested and the plan targets for the growth of national income and labor productivity are being exceeded. The average annual output growth rates exceed by 30 percent the level of the last 5-year plan.

Food supplies to the population are improving. While in 1980 per capita meat consumption in the republic was 61 kg, in 1988 it was 72 kg; the corresponding figures for milk are 349 kg and 414 kg, and for eggs 294 and 326 eggs. The growth is obvious. However, the range and quality of products still fall far short of what we would like to see.

Plans for housing construction, for the reform of secondary and higher education, and for the development of Belorussian-Russian bilingualism are being implemented; a "Health" program has been adopted; and problems of transferring the republic to regional economic accountability are being studied.

Of course, considerable shortcomings still exist. But it is regrettable that there are people who emphatically refuse to perceive any positive shifts and changes in the republic, and who are actively seeking to destabilize the situation and to mold a people's consciousness, charged with national mistrust, suspicion, grievances, and discontent with Belorussians' development, within the community of fraternal peoples.

Addressing the 19th party conference, Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the Belorussian SSR Writers Union, drew attention to the ailments shared by the country's entire writers' organization: group passions, one-sided and insufficiently well reasoned criticism, name-calling, certain people's understanding of glasnost as total license, and so forth. "Unless this is combated," he said, "the problem will culminate in major failures, especially in ideological education work. Instead of the unification of forces for the implementation of restructuring, they will be disunited."

Belorussian writers' contributions in awakening national consciousness and drawing attention to the state of the Belorussian language, their contributions to culture and the problems of environmental protection and historical and cultural monuments, and their growing attention to the Belorussian people's historical past have to be acknowledged.

But, unfortunately, the Belorussian Writers Union did not escape the ailments mentioned at the 19th party conference. Under conditions of restructuring and glasnost, not only did a refreshing stream reach the union but, in my opinion, many unhealthy emotions surfaced, and claims to the ultimate truth and to the right to establish and overthrow authorities emerged. When the country moved on to tougher criticism of the Stalin personality cult and its consequences, idols of their own sprang up among writers, cults of their own emerged, and zones protected from criticism were created. There emerged a category of persons who could not be criticized, and it was impossible to disagree with their interpretation. They proclaimed themselves to be instigators of restructuring and its truest interpreters. Their ideas and assessments were picked up by their junior writer colleagues—representatives of the Komsomol press and also leaders of unsponsored youth associations.

The Lithuanian youth newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carried an interview with Oleg Gruzdilovich, chief of a department of the newspaper ZNAMYA YUNOSTI, which said: "It is impossible to begin to build anew without settling accounts with the dark shadows of the past. Therefore we must begin by establishing a list of names of all those who died as innocent victims during the illegal Stalin repressions, ensure the rehabilitation of these people, and identify and condemn all the butchers of the personality cult times who took part in the mass murders of defenseless people.

"What could be more honorable and more decent, you might think? However, this impulse on the part of our intelligentsia did not delight the representatives of the official authorities."

The young journalist wrongly counterposes the creative intelligentsia to party and soviet organs, which, he alleges, lack "honor and decency." But unfortunately he does not understand and does not attempt to understand that representatives of the ruling party, in addition to honor and decency, must also display political responsibility for restructuring and its results. And this responsibility obliges them not to postpone rebuilding until a

compilation of a list of all victims of illegal repression has been completed, and not to wait until all parties to the repressions are found and punished (the relevant commissions are carrying out this work), but to provide practical leadership right now for all the constructive, creative efforts of Soviet people—young people included—and to do so over quite a wide range, including in the economy, in the social sphere, in political administration, in spiritual culture, and so forth. And the fact that new things are being done today in all these spheres stems not only from the reinterpretation of the repressions and deformations in the USSR, but also from the reinterpretation of the entire contemporary world and the experience of the international workers movement.

There is something else I would like to mention. The eve of the new year of 1989 saw the publication of the first issue of NAVIN, the publication of the Organizing Committee of the so-called "Adradzhenne" Belorussian People's Movement for Restructuring. The opening piece in the issue unequivocally categorizes everyone who doubts the expediency of a [people's] front in the republic as belonging to the "Belorussian bureaucracy" and fans the old familiar myth of the "persecution" of the national intelligentsia in the republic. The most noteworthy feature of the samizdat material is that it portrays everything emanating from the official authorities as being introduced from outside and as pursuing the aim of Russification, and everything emanating from informal groups as an expression of our own distinctive native Belorussian identity.

The following situation also worries me. The idols nurtured within the Belorussian SSR Writers Union have crushed collective party thought within their own organization and advanced on the social sciences, imposing subjectivist visions, assessments, and biases and involving young and immature students in this campaign. This campaign has been facilitated by the fact that social science forces, especially those with a powerful journalistic and oratorical potential, were not mobilized in time. Of course, it was not easy to do this, since in the main departments there were many people who had grown up extolling stagnation and "developed socialism," people who were both theoretically and morally unprepared to counter subjectivism and cliquishness in the mass news media.

Another factor that made itself felt was underestimation of the ability of leaders of informal groups to engage in political mimicry and adroit maneuvering—their ability to score points without fully revealing their true nature and without making public a constructive ideological and political platform of their own, by feeding on the local authorities' errors and insufficient flexibility, on anti-apparatus sentiments among certain mass media personnel, and on the masses' dissatisfaction that many social and ecological problems remain unsolved.

Our scientists, and together with them many ideological workers, proved incapable of switching rapidly to open political debates with opposition groups and elements, neutralizing in a timely fashion the influence of demagogues and rabble-rousers, and ideologically rallying revolutionary forces on the basis of constructive dialogue. Because of this, in my view, it was not possible to expose and weaken destructive criticism in a timely way and devalue in the eyes of the masses, and especially of young people, the unsubstantiated generalizations, assessments and dubious slogans and proposals emanating from certain leaders of informal groups

Take, for instance, the question of national symbols. Certain newspapers have published articles recounting, not without pride, how the white, red, and white flag flew over the Belorussian-Lithuanian regiments that fought heroically in the Battle of Gruenwald, but at the same time have omitted to mention that this flag was also the flag of the BNR [Belorussian People's Republic], the Belorussian Central Rada in the fascist-occupied territory, the "Belorus" SS brigade, the police, and the profascist "Belorussian Youth League." It is now the flag of all Belorussian nationalist organizations: the ZBVB ("Zgurtavanne Belarusaw Vyalikay Brytanii"), ZBK ("Zgurtavanne Belarusaw Kanady"), and BAZA ("Belaruska-Amerykanskaye Zadzinochvanne w Amerytsy").

Anyone who today takes the question of symbols in isolation, as a separate issue, is making a political mistake in my view. The question of symbols concerns the question of our attitude toward Belorussian emigres, our compatriots in the nonsocialist world. The Belorussian emigre community today is heterogeneous, of course. The majority of it is made up not of opponents of our system, but of people who once left to seek food to eat and the children and grandchildren of those people. We must welcome compatriots who come here with good intentions and develop contacts, dialogue, and cooperation with them, including the children of those who once wronged the socialist society. Our task is to help them to liberate themselves from the stereotypes of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism produced by bourgeois propaganda. And of course, it would be desirable to have a common national symbol beneath which we could meet, listen to Belorussian songs, watch shows, and discuss questions of mutual interest. In my view, that symbol could be the printed seal of F. Skorina (a sun with a crescent moon within its rays) or some other symbol associated with the Belorussian people's labor and cultural traditions. In general, the question is a very serious one and historians and the public at large must have their say.

However, notwithstanding all this, one cannot help seeing that, along with nationalist emigre symbols, some creative workers and "informals" are inclined to uncritically accept certain assessments of emigre historians and politicians regarding the status of Belorussians in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Rzecz Pospolita, to

borrow their interpretation of the history of the formation of the Belorussian SSR and Belorussian Communist Party, and to whip up Russophobic sentiments in the republic.

Lately a number of articles have appeared in our press attempting to idealize the Belorussian socialist Hromada and to discredit those academics who see the Hromada as having had two wings—a petty bourgeois nationalist wing and a revolutionary democratic wing. As far back as the twenties Soviet historians were pointing out the heterogeneity of the Hromada; however, some leaders of the "informals" are vigorously trying to refute this assessment.

Some people are inclined to ascribe the anti-Soviet waverings among the Belorussian intelligentsia during the Great Patriotic War and civil war period entirely to the errors of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Northwest Obkom in implementing Lenin's nationalities policy. Thus, for instance, taking issue with N. Stashkevich, V. Kolesnik in his article "Nothing But the Truth, or Nothing But Dogma" (LIM for 29 July 1988) accuses his opponent of misinterpreting the position of Ya. Lesik, editor of the newspaper VOLNAYA BELARUS and Belorussian socialist Hromada candidate for the Constituent Assembly. V. Kolesnik points out that "by the anarchic contagion that has swept over us from the center" Ya. Lesik meant not the October revolution, but those "centrists" in the region "who kept the ideal of a free Belorussia in the procrustean bed of the Western Oblast or Western Commune."

But this softened interpretation of Ya. Lesik's position is untenable. It would be worth V. Kolesnik's while to take a look at the issue of VOLNAYA BELARUS for 19 November 1917; he would be able to read arguments in which the need for a struggle against the Bolsheviks is explained by the desire of Lenin's party to introduce in the state a social system for which people were not yet sufficiently mature, or so Ya. Lesik claimed, because of their economic and social backwardness. Ya. Lesik's position, I think, stemmed primarily not from the errors of the Western Oblast and Front Council of People's Commissars but from a lack of faith in the possibility of the socialist development of Russia, Belorussia included. Prof V. Krutalevich was right when he remarked at a roundtable at Belorussian State University: "It would be an exaggeration to attribute the Belorussian intelligentsia's waverings solely to the errors made by the Northwest party obkom."

Unfortunately, the young "informals" swallow these and similar exaggerations hook, line, and sinker. The tendency to uncritically accept emigre assessments of the status of the Belorussian SSR within the USSR is particularly strong here.

If you carefully read the information report carried in the newspaper LITARATURA I MASTATSTVA for 28 October 1988 regarding the meeting held 19 October in the House of Cinema and the "Declaration of the Committee of 58" adopted at that meeting, you may form the impression that within the framework of the USSR and in the course of building the new society the Belorussian people have received nothing but sorrow, grievances, and humiliations, nothing but oppression, genocide, and forcible denationalization. "We must draw up the great martyrology of our losses and our martyrs," it was said at the meeting in question, "this will be the cornerstone of the foundation of our national consciousness, and will be an element of historical memory and a guarantee. A guarantee of the future of a people who, beyond genocide, blood, and humiliation, yearn for sunlight, good, and justice with the persistence of a condemned man." "We proceed from the obvious fact that the Belorussian nation is on the verge of spiritual annihilation," we read in the appeal of the action group of the Confederation of Belorussian Youth Societies.

The "Svitanak" unsponsored association (Belorussian Technological Institute) stated its objective in the following terms: "Throughout the twenties and the thirties in Vilno, the ancient capital of Belorussia, Belorussian students published STUDENCHESKAYA MYSL, a social science and literary journal. Today we feel ourselves to be the heirs of those student fighters, who awakened Belorussians' slumbering national consciousness in the conditions of West Belorussia, which was enslaved by bourgeois Poland. The goals set all those years ago have still not been implemented. So let us begin with the legacy!"

The leaders of "Svitanak" do not realize that the aforementioned journal by no means reflected the revolutionary and democratic aspirations of West Belorussia's working people. Its ideas coincided to a considerable extent with the views of the figures of the notorious BNR.

The poem "Samota," published in the samizdat pamphlet of another association, "Tuteyshyya," is close in spirit to that statement. We are compelled to cool the young poet's ardor about the white, red, and white flag as a symbol of "freedom." It was not beneath these symbols of "freedom" that the Belorussian people defended their liberty, particularly during the German occupation, in 1918, say, when the members of the "People's Secretariat," who posed as the government of the BNR, hoisted this flag. The "People's Secretariat" was created 21 February, and as early as 26 February the German commandant forcibly occupied the building, threw down the Belorussian flag, and searched the building, as a result of which money was confiscated and employees were dispersed. However, despite the slap in the face, the leaders of the Belorussian Rada sent a telegram to Kaiser Wilhelm expressing thanks for the occupation of Belorussia and stating that it was only under the protection of the German state that they saw a happy lot for their people in the future.

Precisely 26 years later, on 27 June 1944, a telegram was sent to Adolf Hitler from a building in Minsk over which the white, red, and white flag was flying. The delegates of the so-called "Second All-Belorussian Congress," held under the protection of the fascist occupiers, assured the fuehrer that they would "fight steadfastly alongside German soldiers against our common enemy—Bolshevism...."

The leaders of "Tuteyshyya" obviously realize that it is not all that easy to identify this flag with "freedom" inside the USSR. Therefore they direct their attention toward emigre nationalist circles, reprinting in their pamphlet excerpts from BIELARUSKI HOLAS (Canada) claiming that in the Belorussian SSR there exists a colonialist regime which stifles Belorussian culture, destroys the Belorussian language, and keeps the Belorussians "governed by Kremlin stooges."

What comes as part of the package with symbols, "The Chase" ["Pogonya"], and the white, red, and white flag is this: a tendency to build a bridge to the West and raise the bridge to the East. Therefore those mass media which fail to spot and comment on this are doing a bad turn to the Soviet reader.

I think I will be expressing the opinion of many of my fellow social scientists if I say that we cannot allow distortions or exaggerations in the interpretation of our history, we cannot see only death, suffering, and the denationalization of Belorussians during the years of the cult and stagnation.

Formulating the Belorussian Communist Party's policy regarding unsponsored organizations, including the idea of a People's Front, Comrade Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, said at the 24th Minsk Oblast Party Conference: "The most important thing is the association's platform. Is it consonant with the spirit and decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union conference? Are the efforts of the association's members directed toward implementing those decisions as swiftly as possible and preserving and augmenting the fundamental values of socialism? If so, we are in favor of such associations. But if the opportunities opened up by democratization and public activity [publichnost] are exploited to inflame unhealthy sentiments and destabilize the situation, the attitude toward this must be unequivocal: This is nothing but parasitism on restructuring."

Alarm is evoked by the fact that certain members of creative unions address their views and proposals regarding the solution of the nationality question in Belorussia—the republic's sovereignty, the shaping of national consciousness, and the development of culture and language—least of all to party and soviet organs, social scientists, and labor collectives; instead, they appeal chiefly to ragtag [sluchaynyy] elements, to the streets, creating a weight of pressure on the basis of an eclectic platform, which naturally is not conducive to uniting restructuring forces, but introduces a split and mutual mistrust among them.

Another worrying fact is that the Belorussian People's Front Organizing Committee has been working to form support groups for over 3 months now without publishing a detailed program of its movement, clearly hoping to play skillfully on citizens' lack of information. The Organizing Committee's appeal published in the Lithuanian press cannot be called a platform because, while proclaiming support for restructuring, it sidesteps very important points—attitudes toward the CPSU Program, the decisions of the 19th party conference, and socialist internationalism. It does not indicate what place the front's founders assign to it in society's political organization and what its forms of relations and coordination of action will be with the party, the soviets, trade unions, labor collective councils, and so forth.

Though it has joined in the election campaign and put forward its own candidates for people's deputy separately from the party, the Belorussian People's Front Organizing Committee has so far published in NAVIN only the economic section of its platform. The Belorussian People's Front draft document notes that the radical economic reform is faltering, but does not reveal the reasons for this situation. With the air of discoverers, the Organizing Committee's experts proclaim a great deal of what the Belorussian Communist Party has proclaimed and is carrying out, including the concept of regional economic accountability. But there are also "innovations" borrowed uncritically from the platform of the Estonian People's Front. The Organizing Committee declares that the "Belorussian People's Front supports any forms of ownership, including ownership of means of production."

As yet the only feature that is highlighted quite clearly is opposition to the republic's leading organs. This is openly said in the special statement by the Belorussian People's Front Organizing Committee published in NAVIN on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Belorussian SSR and the Belorussian Communist Party.

While leveling a serious political reproach at the Organizing Committee and the groups that have united around it, we certainly cannot ignore the fact that the members of these groups include many ardent patriots and sincere fighters for renewal and for the extrication of our country and the republic from the state of stagnation. Their civic concern and activeness are forcing local bureaucrats to bestir themselves and are injecting dynamism into political life.

On the other hand, it also has to be admitted that party and soviet organs have done by no means everything to lift the tension over the "informals," eliminate the emerging rift in relations, and lessen the mistrust and suspicion felt by certain strata of the intelligentsia and

young people. It is the duty of every party leader and every responsible worker today to go among the masses and to discuss and decide with them all the questions of restructuring which arise.

At the same time the definite one-sidedness of certain central press organs in covering the situation in the republic is causing serious concern. In my view, the articles that have been published clearly attest to a desire to pin the main responsibility for the lack of business-like, constructive contact between the "informals" and party, soviet, and Komsomol organs solely on the republic's ideological workers.

Many articles expressing support for the Belorussian "informals" skillfully avoid examining their ideological and political platforms and views, and shift the discussion either into the sphere of procedural questions, or into general charges that "ideological leaders" are "harassing the national intelligentsia," "do not know young people's real interests," "are ordering the informals about," and so on and so forth. From the rostrum of the USSR Writers Union plenum V. Yakovenko stated that those who today direct economic and cultural life in the republic have a low cultural and intellectual level. I would say that this is not so much an invitation to dialogue as an order to avoid dialogue.

Today it is no secret to anyone that subjectivist assessments and views, the cliquish mentality, the shortage of culture of socialist democratism among some creative workers, the one-sided and tendentious coverage of complex and ambiguous events, the insufficient quickness off the mark of certain local leaders in organizing constructive dialogue, and the timely weeding out of the verbiage of demagogues and loudmouths create difficulties in consolidating restructuring forces.

These difficulties can and must be overcome.

Moldavian Authorities Urged To Curb Informals

PM0803123589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 2

[ATEM correspondent report: "From Kishinev City Soviet Session: 'We Want To Live and Work Peacefully'"]

[Text] There had never been such a session here. Not only its agenda—gross violations of public order in the city and the local soviets' tasks —but the entire atmosphere in the hall where it took place and where representatives of informal associations were present was unusual. Waves of emotion sometimes prevailed over constructiveness and reason. When, at the end of the session, A. Tsurkanu, scientific staffer of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature, confronted the audience with the threat of unpredictable future events if the decision whose draft had been read out from the rostrum were adopted, a rumble of indignation ran through the rows.

This is understandable, because an ultimatum is the wrong method to use today if you are sincerely striving to consolidate forces. It is time for those representatives of informal movements who verbally expose the theory and practice of Stalinism and condemn the stagnation period phenomena while in fact, as recent events have shown, remaining in their thrall, to stop propagating diktat, agitating people, and attaching labels.

The whole course of the session graphically demonstrated that the majority of city soviet deputies make a sober assessment of the situation which has taken shape in the city. Both the report delivered by Kishinev Gorispolkom Chairman I. Gutsu and the speeches attest to this.

Yes, restructuring has removed the blinders from our eyes and enabled us to speak fearlessly about what troubles us. But when only negative things are elevated to an absolute, when ambitious individuals try to play their card on the wave of the difficulties society is experiencing, and when the growing national self-awareness of the city's working people is accompanied in a number of cases by manifestations of extremism, by the dissemination of leaflets aimed at kindling interethnic strife, and by the fanning of anti-Russian, anti-Moldavian, and anti-Semitic feeling, then all healthy forces must deal such manifestations a resolute rebuff.

Worker V. Varavin, chairman of the labor collective council of the "Vibropribor" production association, was right to say that, by letting themselves be led along by the instigators of the events in the city, many people have "lost their human soul." What else can account for what happened on 22 January at a meeting of the A. Mateyevich Club? A number of people disseminated provocative rumors and fabrications there, alleging that there had been a murder in the city and attempts had been made on people's lives and health on grounds of interethnic relations. Those irresponsible statements resulted in an unsanctioned procession. Hundreds of people marched from Victory Square to Liberation Square, where a spontaneous rally took place. Its participants chanted extremist slogans and shouted insults against leading workers of the republic's soviet and party organs.

An ATEM correspondent was there at the time and saw alarm in the eyes of people who were observing all this. Alarm for their children, for themselves, for our common future. Therefore it is impossible to disagree with Leninskiy Rayispolkom Chairman D. Balan, who emphasized, in particular, that recent events in the city can be called neither sensible nor useful, because they roused the indignation of practically all intelligent city people.

With every passing day the actions of informal associations are increasingly assuming the nature of open opposition to the organs of power and management and of a violation of public order. As was pointed out at the session, in addition to individual healthy elements which

really support the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions, particularly in the democratic movement, there is a clearly manifest desire not only to contrast themselves with other institutions of society's political system but also to take the leading position in it and to appear in the role of the "chief controller," claiming the right to be purveyors of the truth in the last instance. They are increasingly using the "services" of extremist elements, not feeling themselves in the slightest to blame for what happens in the city on Sundays.

M. Murzak, chief of a Moldavian SSR Culture Ministry administration, confirmed this thought with a specific example. At a meeting of the Mateyevich Club, he said, its members permit themselves provocative statements in addition to reading poetry and performing folk works. Addressing the gathering, they pronounce the following, for example: "We do not have the right to appeal to you to participate in a rally at 6 o'clock this evening.... But if you go with us..." Speaking at a club meeting, some people blame the Russians, for example, for all the Moldavian people's misfortunes, forgetting that the Russians suffered no less in the thirties....

Addressing the session, A. Tsurkanu introduced himself to deputies as one of the leaders of the informals. He asked, in particular, why the republic's top leaders do not meet with them, and talked about problems of the Moldavian language and alphabet; of the composition of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee commissions, which include certain unworthy—in his opinion—persons; of the fact that fines imposed by courts on the organizers and participants in unsanctioned rallies are growing under "pressure from above"; and of the fact that the question of imposing a curfew was supposedly being decided there, at the session.

What attitude should be taken toward some of these remarks? After all, the appearance of the republic's top leaders, for example, at unsanctioned measures could only betoken their approval or legitimize them. What question can there be of a calm and sensible dialogue if chaos reigns at these rallies, shouting and extremist slogans are heard, and labels are attached to absolutely everyone? And again: When touching on language problems, for some reason the speaker did not even mention that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau had supported the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposals to prepare draft laws "On the Status of the Moldavian Language" and "On the Functioning of Moldavian, Russian, and Other Languages on Moldavian SSR Territory." Yet they provide for the concept of Moldavian as the state language to be elaborated and for questions of Moldavian switching to Latin orthography to be worked out.

In his speech A. Tsurkanu did not even attempt to explain the reasons for some of his unequivocal conclusions. At the same time, he ventured to state in the name of the entire people that neither the militia nor even tanks would be able to prevent the demands advanced from being achieved. He did not understand or did not want to understand that other opinions, expressed at the session, in the press, and in letters to the republic supreme soviet presidium, are the people's opinion too! Deputies, seeking to be as objective as possible, propose the only correct path in this situation—the path of a sensible, constructive dialogue and the consolidation of forces.

It is a pity, a great pity, that the representatives of informal associations who addressed the city soviet session were unwilling to accept this invitation to consolidate forces. Because deputies also represent the people in whose name the informal associations assume the exclusive right to speak.

Here, incidentally, is what Deputy V. Peregudova, worker at the "Mikroprovod" science and production association, said at the session:

"I am speaking on behalf of our collective. The overwhelming majority of our working people do not wish to tolerate what is happening. This is because we will not resolve the problems facing us, whose importance no one disputes, by staging rallies and riots in the city. The situation which has taken shape in the city is of very great concern to us mothers. For how long will unbridled people dictate their terms to us? We demand that measures be taken so that our children may live in peace. We all want to live and work in peace. If the leaders of informal movements cannot ensure order during and after their measures and lose control over those who follow them, and if this leads to mass riots, then the question of banning such rallies must be raised. It is time to apply the law. For we do have laws which provide liability for kindling interethnic strife."

We cannot allow elemental emotions to prevail over reason and undermine people's faith in restructuring, K. Sekriyeru, first secretary of Sovetskiy party raykom; M. Istrati, pedagogical institute student; V. Goldis, chairman of the house committees of the No 14 Housing Operation Section; and other deputies said. The people and history will forgive neither extremists nor those who were unable to stop them in time. Continuing this thought, I. Borovik, director of the "Moldavgidromash" science and production association special technological design bureau, remarked that the lack of a clear stand on the part of soviet and party organs has brought the situation in the city and the republic to the state in which we find ourselves today.

Various bans and restrictions, he said, only worsen the situation. At first dozens of people gathered in Pushkin Park. This was prohibited. Hundreds began gathering at Komsomol Lake, and thousands took to the city streets. Neither militia details nor court examinations will stop this. I believe that the prime cause of the events is the fact that party and soviet organs failed to investigate the origins of these movements at the outset and did not help to clean them up or put them on the right road but

handed them over to those who are leading the movements away from their proclaimed aims. I believe that we should have used the whole authority of the state and party aktiv to support all the healthy ideas the people are talking about which are expressed at the rallies and should have cut the ground from under the feet of demagogues and bawlers. This has not been done even now.

The intelligentsia was present at the movement's birth. But I cannot call what is happening intelligent: for example, the caricature which appeared in LITERATURA SHI ARTA, however it is interpreted. I cannot call the juggling of the facts of Moldavian history in a number of articles intelligent. In this connection he criticized the ideological workers of the Central Committee, the party gorkom, and the gorispolkom. I am convinced, he said, that it is necessary to work with this movement not only from rostrums.

While acknowledging as correct the criticism made of the city and republic party and soviet organs, N. Tsyu, first secretary of Kishinev party gorkom, pointed out that many problems, meanwhile, have already been resolved or are at the stage of being resolved. This is a result, among other things, of meetings between these organs' leaders and representatives of informal associations. However, the full consolidation of forces and strict observance of the law are needed today.

Unfortunately, I. Katsaveyke, member of the A. Mateyevich Club's action group, "did not hear" this. Mounting the rostrum, he once again leveled charges and rebukes at the city leadership, accusing them of reluctance to conduct a lively, open dialogue.

...For the information of readers.

Only a few days ago members of the democratic movement's action group were invited to the "Glasnost" Club, which operates in the capital's Oktyabrskiy Rayon, for a dialogue on all topical problems. But they did not come....

As an employee of the newspaper LITERATURA SHI ARTA, I. Katsaveyke was asked questions by deputies from the floor about his personal attitude toward the posters at the Moldavian SSR Writers Union, which are of a very dubious nature. He evaluated them as topical and urgent and coming, according to him, from the position of a truthful historical document....

But how can one not recall here the words M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the meeting with Kiev working people:

"Both in history and in the present we must see primarily what unites our peoples and gives rise to trust and respect, not alienation, between them. Anyone who embarks on a different path assumes very grave responsibility before his own people above all, because this is a path into an impasse...."

Any state has the right to defend its interests. Democracy must not be confused with license. Democracy must go hand in hand with legality. It is our common duty, deputies emphasized, to struggle with all our might for the cohesion of society's healthy forces. The gorispolkom, rayispolkoms, every deputy, and leaders of labor collectives must assume personal responsibility for shaping a healthy moral and psychological climate in them and resolutely restructure their organizational and educational work with people.

The appreciable growth in crime and offenses is a direct consequence of the unstable situation which has taken shape in the city, deputies said. Labor collectives have a great role to play in improving it, they believe. The initiative of the "Mezon" production association, for example, merits attention. It has decided to form a 30-man workers militia detachment, using its own resources and means, to maintain public order in the rayon and combat negative phenomena.

This idea was supported by I. Bordyugov, general director of the "Signal" production association, who urged other labor collectives to allocate special funds to create such detachments to ensure a calm situation in the city.

But some of the "informals" present in the hall "did not hear" the constructive nature of this proposal either. They understood it as a desire on the "Signal" director's part to reinforce the militia in its struggle "against the people."

...There is a complex situation in the city. The actions of each of us must be more thought out than ever.

The decision adopted by the session points out:

"The weekly holding of mass measures in the city by informal associations is considered impossible, since they contribute to the emergence of spontaneous rallies and other actions, hinder the work of city public transport, destabilize public order, kindle hostility between representatives of different nationalities, and could have unpredictable complications and consequences;

"Mindful of the significance of Victory and Liberation Squares and the adjacent streets and parks in the city's life, of the fact that numerous guests of the capital visit them, and of the fact that more than 20 trolleybus and bus routes pass through the said rayons, carrying a considerable number of passengers, it is considered possible to hold there only working people's demonstrations marking May Day and anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution or measures associated with portentous events in the social and political life of the city, the republic, and the country sanctioned by the republic government and the gorispolkom;

"Taking account of the operational situation which has taken shape in the city and the increase in the number of crimes and offenses, rayispolkoms jointly with leaders of

enterprises, organizations, and establishments are to examine and, with due regard for the existing experience in the city, resolve the question of forming workers detachments to assist the militia in safeguarding public order;

"The gorispolkom and rayispolkoms are to support constructive proposals in the activities of informal associations and hold meetings with members of their action groups on the most topical and urgent questions and on problems of the city's development."

...I believe that the words M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the meeting with Kiev working people apply to all us inhabitants of Moldavia—Moldavians, Ukrainians, Russians, Gagauz, Bulgarians, Jews, Germans, and representatives of other nationalities: "Appeals to achieve particular national demands outside the framework of the law, by force, are tantamount to incitement...."

In conclusion, three brief interviews following the session.

V. Muntyanu, second secretary of Dnestrovskiy party raykom:

"The city soviet session examined a question that has not been submitted for discussion before. I liked the speeches which made proposals to consolidate our efforts in resolving the tasks facing the city, as well as problems of concern to everyone today. At the same time there is no way I can agree with the methods used by certain informals."

G. Kravchik, chief physician at the casualty hospital:

"I believe that such a session was necessary. We still have to find the way to mutual understanding among those who champion different viewpoints. It was rightly stated that it is necessary to support everything healthy and sensible and resolutely oppose everything that contradicts the international essence of our socialist state. I fully support the session's decision. Democracy today has really opened the doors to pluralism, but everything must be within the framework of the law if we are building a rule-of-law state."

D. Ivanov, director of the No 16 Russian-Moldavian Secondary School:

"I attended the session as a guest. I regard as perfectly correct the proposals on the need to consolidate forces. I am a Moldavian. Attending one of the rallies, I became convinced that urgent problems cannot be resolved with the methods chosen by its participants. The most terrible thing is that children are being drawn into this. There is a large detachment of working people on the ideological front in our republic. They must meet with both labor collectives and representatives of informal public organizations to elaborate the optimum solutions. Only in this way will we resolve our 'sore' questions."

Scientists Criticize Ukraine People's Movement

AU0803122889 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Increasing Returns From Science, and Responsibility for Restructuring"]

[Text] On 27 February 1989 the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences held an expanded session with the participation of leaders and secretaries of party organizations at scientific institutions. There were two items on the agenda: 1. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and some problems concerning an increase in the effectiveness of scientific research. 2. The attitude to the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring.

Last week, B.Ye. Paton, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, said, an event of enormous importance took place in our academy's life. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary, M.S. Gorbachev, along with our republic's leaders, visited the Material Science Problems Institute and the interbranch 'Powder Metallurgy' Scientific-Technological Complex under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. A report on the visit has been published, but allow me to expound on the main results of the meeting.

First of all, I would like to emphasize that the conversation held was fruitful, interesting, rich, and touched upon a wide range of problems concerning the development of science, the accelerating scientific-technological progress in the national economy, and more concretely, the performance of the "Powder Metallurgy" complex. Concern was expressed at the lack of efficiency of the complex's system, and factors that hinder its work were noted. The visitors also acquainted themselves with an exhibition of new materials and technologies, as well as with works performed by other institutes of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, particularly in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex. On the whole, M.S. Gorbachev highly assessed the works represented in the institute.

The most important thing now is to quickly and extensively apply the institutes' studies in production. We must also be more persistent in our efforts to put completed works into effect and accomplish the planned tasks more rapidly. At the same time, we must not forget the need to thoroughly develop fundamental research, and to greatly intensify new works to provide theoretical foundations for advanced technologies. This is the only way to make our research really forward-looking.

The president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences called on institute leaders to propose ways in the immediate future to widely apply the completed studies that had attracted particular attention during the visit to the academy. This applied to studies in the sphere of

data processing, computing equipment, machine building, new varieties of wheat, corn hybrids, and sugar beets grown by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, as well as the industrial technologies of growing them. Making plastic tubes in the way proposed by the academy's scientists could be of enormous importance for the supply of gas to rural areas in the republic and throughout the country. The need to develop the academy's production base more energetically and, above all, to establish small plants and organize the production of small-size [malotonnazhnyye] goods was also emphasized.

Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, emphasized in his speech the great importance of this session of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Science Presidium for acquainting leaders of scientific institutions with questions connected with Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the republic.

As is known, in Kiev, Lvov, and Donetsk the CPSU Central Committee general secretary repeatedly emphasized the great importance of science and scientific-technological achievements for our society's future development and for restructuring.

Consequently, the academy's initiative to immediately organize a meeting and to agree upon the main directions of this work is to be welcomed. Of course, this is only the beginning, and it is up to every scientific collective and its party organization to work out a concrete program for action.

At the same time, it is worthwhile to give some consideration to ideological issues.

We know that the ideological, political, moral, and psychological atmosphere in the collectives of scientific institutions both in Kiev and in the republic is, on the whole, stable and sound. The scientists back restructuring and approve the measures taken by the party to expand democratization and glasnost, and to intensify attention to all issues concerning renewal in our society.

There is no need to expound on these problems in detail. The purpose of this speech is to express an opinion about the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring, which has been published in LITERATURNA UKRAINA; to express an opinion openly and frankly, while adhering to principle. What, specifically, can be said about some of the fundamental theses of this draft?

Instead of making constructive efforts to restructure all spheres of Soviet society's life, the authors of the draft induce the public on the shaky grounds of holding permanent discussions. In assessing the documents, the attitude to the CPSU is the main point. Let us be frank: The draft submitted for discussion looks like a manifesto of political demands, and for this reason it has to be regarded not as a program for action, but as a document offering an alternative to the political structure of the CPSU. People have the impression that the authors of the draft do not believe in the potential of the party and various public organizations, and they believe that only the movement that they themselves proposed will be able to guarantee the success of restructuring.

Engendered by the deep socioeconomic, political, and spiritual needs of all USSR peoples, restructuring has become vital for them and has given meaning to all of their activity. The practical implementation of the party program has turned into an authentic, nationwide movement of the republic's working people. The Soviet Ukraine's workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia have consciously followed the CPSU and its combat detachment, the Ukrainian Communist Party.

As M.S. Gorbachev noted in Kiev and Donetsk, the Ukraine's working people have achieved rather good results in the basic indexes set for the current 5-year period. The corresponding figures are known and have been published. Of course, this does not mean that we can be satisfied with what has been achieved, or that unresolved problems do not exist any longer. Unfortunately, there are more than enough problems, ones we have inherited from the past and ones that have emerged in recent times. The crux of the problem lies in finding a concrete program for settling them.

Such a program for thorough, revolutionary restructuring has been proposed by the CPSU. The growing scale and rate of implementing the program in practice commands that we unite, tightly consolidate the efforts of the people, and increase everyone's real part in the cause of restructuring. The time for talks and discussions has passed; what is needed are concrete deeds and results.

However, not all people have accepted this. Some would like to hold endless meetings, and to bring forward ever new demands and new plans. This is what the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine calls for. However, the question that inevitably arises is this: In the fourth year of restructuring and with a clear-cut restructuring program available, is there a need for such an organization at all? An analysis of the aforesaid draft gives us an answer to this question. Such an organization is superfluous above all from the political point of view, and also from the point of view of its organizational abilities. The movement tries to assume functions which are not characteristic of public organizations, such as the right to dictate its will, to control, and to demand, but it does not take responsibility for practical work and its results, it does not specify its own contribution and the methods of making it.

The movement's draft program is in essence a political plagiarism. On the positive side, it draws its theses from the CPSU Program, from the materials of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, from the CPSU electoral

platform, and from the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Constitutions, and on the negative side, from the documents of various politicized associations formed spontaneously. A number of theses clearly contradict the valid party and state documents. In particular, the draft introduces a new concept of "people's ownership." It disagrees with the concept of national (state) ownership. If its meaning is identical with that in the Constitution, what is the point of inventing a new term? However, if this term is used to disguise the concept of the republic's ownership, it is unacceptable.

This concept implies the economic sovereignty of the republic. Viewed in context with "people's ownership," the proposed idea of the "economic sovereignty of the republic" seems to follow the line aimed at destroying the one single national economic complex of the country.

The thesis that "...the right of the parents to freely chose the language in which their children are to be taught... requires a revision of legal and moral norms" contradicts the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Constitutions, and international pacts on economic, social, cultural, and political rights. They guarantee human rights, regardless of language differences. The thesis about "...switching these secondary specialized and higher educational institutions in the Ukrainian SSR over to teaching in Ukrainian" contradicts the principle of native Russian bilingualism, as well as the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Constitutions.

Other theses are obviously Utopian in their nature. This in particular applies to the proposal to switch the republic from having an economy in which an immeasurably larger share belongs to extractive and power-intensive branches and enterprises to an economy in which only precision and complex machine building prevails.

It is quite obvious that the authors of the draft are at least incorrect when they demand to be able to struggle for a radical reform in religion. This is an evident intervention in the internal affairs of the Church.

At the end, the speaker said: Having thought over the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine in general and having grasped it as a whole, one can see its characteristic feature, which is national seclusion, the national isolation of the Soviet Ukraine.

Even this analysis, without going into details, shows that the party organizations of scientific institutions must assume a clear and principled attitude to the draft program.

Precisely the party organizations must fully realize the real goals pursued by the organizers of the People's Movement of the Ukraine, in order to explain them to the Communists and non-party members, and to free some scientists from the influence of phrases and slogans that have an attractive form, but are a long way from the true people's interests. The means that we possess for this purpose are insuperable. They are Marxist-Leninist teaching, and Marxist-Leninist methodology.

Participating in the discussion were leaders and secretaries of party organizations at a number of academic institutions. Corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences S.A. Firstov, party committee secretary at the I.N. Frantsevich Material Science Problems Institute, emphasized in particular that M.S. Gorbachev's attention to the development of fundamental research and to the topical problems of scientific-technological progress was most impressive. It is important to back the idea of establishing, under the Academy of Sciences, industrial enterprises to develop new technologies, and to produce small series of modern science-intensive products. As far as the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring is concerned, the party committee adheres to the opinion that there is no need for intermediaries between the party organization and the institute's collective.

The slogans carried by the draft program do not have a constructive nature. The authors of the draft are not sincere. They try to dilute the important enterprise of restructuring by sterile discussions.

Doctor of Historical Sciences I.M. Makoveychuk, party bureau secretary at the History Institute, emphasized that the proposed draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine missed the goals of consolidating efforts. A political confrontation must not be permitted in the republic. Abstract pluralism advocated by the draft must be discerned from socialist pluralism, which is gaining a foothold in the country on the initiative of the CPSU. The erroneous theses of the draft must be explained practically in the collectives of scientific institutions.

Academician V.S. Mikhaylovich, director of the V.M. Glushkov Cybernetics Institute, emphasized the practical importance and constructive purposefulness of M.S. Gorbachev's conversations with the academy's scientists. He emphasized the need to more rapidly apply scientific elaborations in the national economy, particularly those involved in the process of promoting data processing in Soviet society. While touching upon the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine, the speaker called attention to its political ambitions, to the aspiration to place the movement above the party and the people. He emphasized that the abnormal ecological problems had to be settled practically, with the participation of specialists, and not by their irresponsible incantations.

Member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences B.M. Babiy noted that the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine contained many correct and well-known theses; in the background, however, were mere promises unsupported by evidence, and no concrete program for settling immediate problems. The

concepts of "people's ownership" and of "economic sovereignty" are a veil for the idea of tearing the Ukraine away from one single national economic complex of the country. The draft does not even mention this complex.

Member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences I.L. Dzeverin, director of the T.G. Shevchenko Literary Institute, emphasized the need to interpret the vanguard role of the party in Soviet society more profoundly and objectively. As it is far from satisfactory in this respect, the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine gives rise to substantial objections. While speaking about the vital need to expand the sphere of application of the Ukrainian language, the academician pointed out that in the draft the emphasis on compulsory methods to settle this question was unjustified.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences adopted unanimous decisions on the issues discussed. The decision on the first item draws up for the academy's institutes and establishments concrete and urgent measures to increase the effectiveness of scientific research. It envisages ways of improving the activity of interbranch scientific-technological complexes, and increasing their role in the priority sectors of scientific-technological progress. The decision emphasizes the need to deal more rapidly with problems concerning the application of data processing in society, to provide an appropriate material and technical base for this purpose, and to increase the role of chemical institutes in settling the food program. The institutes of the Social Sciences Section are expected to expand comprehensive research into the dialectics of what is national and what is international in the life of the USSR peoples.

The decision "On the Draft Program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring" notes that this document is not appropriate for the task of uniting the efforts of the republic's working people, and increasing the part of every collective and laborer in the restructuring process. In the positive part of the draft, it actually belatedly repeats the theses that have been put forward by the party and are being put into effect under its leadership. For practical purposes, the draft lacks new and constructive proposals, lacks a vision of the real way to overcome the existing shortcomings and difficulties. It also contains theses that are simply erroneous.

None of this can be understood as support for the idea of the formation of the new organization and its draft program. The patriotic initiatives to deepen restructuring can be accomplished within the limits of the existing structure of political, state, and public organizations.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences has commissioned leaders of the academy's institutions, along with party organizations, to take practical measures to intensify explanatory work in collectives, and to implement the decisions adopted by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium to improve ideological and political work, and internationalist and patriotic education.

Ukraine Movement 'Related to' Baltic Movements

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[Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian on 2 March carries on page 3 a 3,000-word article by PRAVDA special correspondents O. Meshkov and A. Chernenko, "The Boundary: Meditation Over Public Movements in Latvia," reprinted in Ukrainian translation from Moscow PRAVDA of 1 March 1989. The article, which examines the current developments in Latvia, is preceded by the following introduction in boldface:

"Both the article 'The Boundary,' reprinted in this issue from PRAVDA, and the SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA review, published in RADYANSKA UKRAINA on 28 February, are dedicated to the complicated, contradictory, and—let us be frank—disturbing processes taking place in the Baltic republics. The political confrontation has assumed dangerous proportions, the performance of party organizations and administrative organs has been hampered, while the authors of unrealizable plans and various alternatives, who have in their background nothing real except their immoderate ambitions, win 'prestige' by riding on the crest of the wave of demagogy. In the meantime, our greatest achievements—internationalist unity, friendship among peoples, and one single national economic complex for the country—are being impaired in a real way.

"What makes a sober analysis of the developments in the Baltic region additionally and particularly significant at present is the fact that the People's Movement of the Ukraine recently published its draft program, which is in many ways related to the programs of similar organizations in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and the authors of which also cherish ambitious plans. Although the draft program is in substance nothing but political plagiarism, a product of dilettantish exercises by beginners in the sphere of politics, unfortunately, some people have received it uncritically (evidence of this is letters to the editor). Well, let us read and see what such an uncritical attitude entails. Let us think!"

Antiepidemic Commission Discusses AIDS

PM0803143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by S. Tutorskaya: "Shock; Alarming AIDS Situation Calls for Immediate and Resolute Measures"]

[Text] Has it been long since well-known epidemiologists were confidently asserting that the new 20th century plague would pass us by? At an all-union extraordinary antiepidemic commission, USSR Deputy Health Minister A. Kondrushev stated that there are now about 10 million symptomless carriers of the virus in the world.

According to the forecast, within the next few years approximately one-third of them may fall ill. That is, a pandemic is developing that encompasses us. The rate at which people are infected is accelerating with every year and month. Whereas there were 81 people infected with the AIDS virus in our country last year, as of 1 February this year another 44 had been added to that figure. There are now over 140 infected people; of four Soviet people who have fallen ill three have died. It is expected that next year 1,342 people will be ill. This "accelerating" statistic asserts that AIDS is not somewhere "over there and to do with them," it is inside our own populace.

We have already written about how many health administrators and organizers have been punished in Kalmykia, where the criminal negligence of the medical personnel caused an eruption of AIDS. Some 31 children have been infected: On average a new case is being discovered once a week.... The investigation under the control of the USSR Prosecutor's Office has not yet ended. A similar accident, the session said, can be expected at any time anywhere in the country.

The threat we are facing, Health Minister Ye. Chazov said, is in no way less than that of an ecological "bomb" or nuclear weapon. He noted that USSR Health Ministry workers have frequently tried to inform the government that the situation is a menacing one. But eminent scientists in charge of the problem have denied the acuteness of the issue, stating that it is all false panic.

...What now is in the heart of the young nurse who regarded as "not compulsory" the requirement to unconditionally observe the rules of sterility when giving injections? The investigator is now talking with her and others. But let's ask ourselves a question: How many more of these nurses, quite infantile and insufficiently skilled, are there in our medical institutions? Can we trust them with our lives?

Let's also ask ourselves: How are nurses trained in our country? For all the impermissibility of what happened in Elista, do our nurses have the opportunity to work normally? It is no secret that one nurse does the work of two or three for a miserly wage. In addition, in many hospitals nurses perform the functions of the absent orderlies—that is categorically forbidden by the same rules of sterility and nonetheless is permitted by another instruction. How does our nurse of 1989 differ from the sister of mercy of previous years? What new skills and abilities does she have? The answer is a sorry one: almost none, while her love for her patients, compassion, and sympathy are in short supply, in contrast to the nurses of the past.

For many years (including the stagnation years) our best doctors sounded the alarm over the loss of professionalism among qualified doctors and middle echelon medical personnel.

And... there was silence. The team method of work for nurses, making it possible to reveal the best among them and offer them a human wage for their hard work, is being introduced randomly and in minute doses.

The same all-union extraordinary antiepidemic commission noted that the majority of leading institutes have failed to meet the targets set for them. Scientific research into the AIDS problem has been carried out slackly and on an insufficient scale. References to the fact that few funds are earmarked do not explain everything. The question of qualifications also arises. How else, Minister Ye. Chazov said, to explain the fact that the "Vektor" diagnosticum had to be abandoned because it was so bad? The foreign currency funds released to prepare it have been spent in vain. For all the backwardness of the production base, considerable blame here rests with the scientists. Many newspapers have written about the diagnosticum created at the Institute of Immunology (the director is Professor R. Khaitov). But according to G. Onishchenko, an employee of the USSR Health Ministry Epidemiological Administration, so far this is all just words, there is no diagnosticum. The "Antigen" diagnosticum produced under the auspices of another institute has given a good account of itself. Its mass production has been started. But how much time and money has been spent in vain?

Now the go-ahead is really being given to appropriations for the struggle against AIDS. But where is the guarantee that this money will provide real, well-equipped laboratories? At the session where RSFSR Health Minister A. Potapov criticized V. Pokrovskiy, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of academic monopolism, another seemingly improbable piece of news was heard. It turns out that young scientists are in no hurry to take part in resolving the AIDS problem. There are vacant places. This is in a country which remembers the scientific exploits of M. Chumakov, Z. Yermolyeva, and other outstanding scientists!

Scientists spoke openly quite recently about how an atmosphere of indifference, of divorce from reality, of mutual flattery, reigned for many years in virusology (with rare exceptions). How many times on the pages of the newspapers, with the knowledge of various loudmouths, were influenza, hepatitis, and other serious diseases "conquered!" Who now will take to task the scientists who informed one party congress about their victory over influenza? Victorious speeches and applause were heard and generous bonuses were issued. But reality prevailed: Neither influenza nor hepatitis B (from which people throughout the world are still dying) has yet been successfully and substantially eliminated.

To erect a real barrier against AIDS now it is not only new financial transfusions which are needed. It is necessary to change the entire system of management of science and health care. It is essential to bring to the fore people who know their business, those in whom the honor of the scientists and simple conscience have not

died. These people must be in charge of AIDS statistics, the financing of research, and the monitoring of the quality of reagents and instruments.

The virus does not wait and will heed no exhortations. The eyes of children suffering through no fault of their own are looking at us—yet the all-union extraordinary antiepidemic commission notes that AZT, the only palliative treatment, is being produced in extremely limited quantities. Problems of psychological and other protection also arise. The grief, despair, and confusion of those now infected are such that special aid from psychiatrists and psychologists is needed. They also need compassion, understanding, and legal protection as much as they need air.

Incidentally, about legal protection. Some 2 years ago the USSR Ministry of Justice was given the task of urgently working out the legal aspects of the struggle against AIDS. That includes, on the one hand, the legal aspects of defense against the irresponsible behavior of people who know they are infected. A decree was adopted here, although in the opinion of many people it is too tough. But the law has not made tougher demands on medical personnel for infecting patients with the virus. The legal bases for investigating "risk groups" have not been worked out at all. The Ministry of Justice has wrecked this task.

It does not seem long ago that we were reading about "AIDS phobia" (fear of falling ill with AIDS) in the United States. We read about it and we shuddered: Normal, seemingly decent people were forcing a sick man to leave town! They were burning the house where he lived.... At the time we said to ourselves: No, that's not possible in our country. It turns out that it is possible! And with what anguish did the poet David Kugultinov write of this....

How much has been said at the level of the world's best specialists: Ordinary contact (sharing towels and toothbrushes, plates, food, and rooms) is not dangerous. The infection comes via just three routes: sexual contact; the blood of a sick person and contaminated medical instruments; and from a sick mother to her newborn child.

Why do we not drive from our midst a child who has fallen sick with the infectious hepatitis B? After all, this is also very dangerous and very contagious—never mind AIDS! Is it not because we have grasped these dangers and become used to them? While the new is frightening? There's no denying that circumspection and the observance of all measures of hygiene and individual protection are needed. But all this must be done in clear awareness and not in a frenzy—that is what the most experienced doctors and the experience of other countries are urging us to do. It seems to me that our devoted doctors, and they do exist, should go to people and explain all this to them.

As I write I can see a pile of letters on the desk. They are all about one thing: But where to get these means of individual protection? If of the required 3 billion disposable syringes, we so far find it hard to scrape together 50 million—what kind of protection can we talk about? If the sense of responsibility of those who produce these syringes and condoms (the latter in only one-third of the quantity needed) is below zero?

What can we say in reply to ourselves and others? To our children? A friend of mine came to me with a newspaper in his hands and said: "I slept badly last night, I kept thinking about the little children in Kalmykia. Could I take my own syringe home for our little mite to be given his injections?"

It seemed to me best to put these questions to the country's chief state sanitation doctor.

"The wish to have a syringe at home is absolutely right," A. Kondrusev said. "The need to observe well the rules for handling it is another matter. But although we are wholeheartedly in favor, even here there is no guarantee that it will be possible to buy syringes. The point is that we receive even reusable syringes in exactly half the quantity we need."

"I believe," my interlocutor continued, "that the problem of condoms and syringes must be eliminated whatever effort are required. And that attention should be drawn to sexual hygiene. One of the most important commandments of the struggle against AIDS in the West is connected with this: 'Don't Die of Ignorance.'"

"How are the mass media helping you?"

"So far this assistance is inadequate. The inertia of the taboo on certain topics is having an effect. The struggle against AIDS is not a seasonal measure.

"The position of the Komsomol Central Committee is surprising: The youth press has few articles about AIDS. We have hard questions to put to television workers. The 'Viewpoint' program showed the faces of infected women. And what happened? It was with this that there began the monstrous phenomena about which your D. Kugultinov wrote so correctly...."

"Aleksandr Ivanovich, I have been told that in one photograph in a newspaper readers recognized the child of an inhabitant of Elista. She is now being threatened and is in hiding with her child with relatives...."

"All this must be stoppped immediately. But an enormous amount of explanatory work is needed to remove the fear. Doctors can be helped by intellectuals and deputies. We must also resurrect in people compassion for those who are in trouble."

...I catch myself thinking that notes about AIDS increasingly resemble dispatches from a battlefield. I cannot avoid the thought that both material participation to the extent that we are able (with the state, of course, bearing the lion's share of the expenses) and public control are vitally necessary.

We have been told the account number of the public association for the struggle against AIDS: No 608747, USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development. The money will go primarily toward material aid for victims.

Ukraine Rectors, Writers Union Discuss Culture

AU0103104989 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 23 Feb 89 p 3

[V. Desyatnykov and M. Doroshenko article "Notes From a Meeting in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education"— "Really Toward Cooperation?"]

[Text] These notes were taken at a meeting which rectors of the republic's institutions of higher education recently held with I. Drach, chairman of the Kiev organization of the Ukrainian Writers Union. There was doubt: Was this an event deserving special attention? How many writers are there who give their readers an account of their literary work, share their worries, and give information about their creative plans? And on this occasion, too, having gathered in the republic's capital city to discuss their problems, the rectors wanted to know how Kiev writers were doing, what they had on their desks and in their drawers, what their plans and problems were. The conversation could have taken the usual course. But I. Drach was one of the initiators of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring, whose draft program was recently published in LITERATURNA UKRAINA. For this reason the conversation mainly concerned this topic, though it also touched upon other subjects.

Let us note straight away that it opened with rather sharp tones. I. Drach listed the main problems with which the Kiev writers organization was engaged. They were: ecology and the active struggle to preserve the environment, and problems concerning the Ukrainian language, its revival, and efforts to increase its role in the life of society's and the people's history. But in the list there were rather few matters concerning proper literature. This is why the participants in the meeting began to wonder about the writers' proper literary activity.

"We are under the impression," said V. Kucheryavyy, rector of the Lvov Forest Technical Institute, "that writers have been too immersed in politics. No one would say that they must not deal with matters of public concern, with the problems of the people's history. But do you not think, Ivan Fedorovych, that some of your colleagues have stopped writing altogether in order to shine at gatherings and meetings, to orate on any occasion and without any occasion? If I am not mistaken, V. Chkalov said: My party duty is to fly well."

"In a way, you are right," I. Drach replied. "But in the life of society there are periods when an honest, conscientious person cannot act otherwise. You remember L. Tolstoy's dictum: 'I cannot be silent.'"

"He was not silent, but he also wrote. The same applies to you: Do not be silent, write. Come up with works worthy of our epoch, works reflecting our exciting times and that are useful for restructuring. Do you not think that for a talented writer this is precisely the way to be of the most use to the people?"

At that moment someone from the audience made the remark: "Rouget de Lisle did not organize a movement to restructure feudal society. Instead, he wrote the 'Marseillaise' which made him immortal, was his contribution toward the triumphant revolution, and is now the national anthem of the French Republic."

"But please understand the circumstances," I. Drach replied. "This is not only the case here. Processes of renewal are taking place in all republics. There is an aura of those times when everyone would have to go to battle. And owing precisely to our persistence and application to resolute actions, we have already achieved a great deal."

And here is what O. Ustenko, rector of the Ternopol Financial and Economic Institute, said: "We know that you are a good poet. We would not like to surrender I. Drach to the various pseudoliterary people who are courting him at present. We know and understand that in this country a real poet has always been someone who is more than simply an author, even if the latter's verses are of the best quality. But can we be confident that you—the initiators of the movement—are the best politicians?"

"Why have the writers meddled in politics?" I. Drach answered. "When professional politicians are not looking after their business or are doing so badly, we have to step in. It is essential to fight for the sovereignty of the Ukraine, for the development of the language."

The discussion unfolded over the way the draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring handled problems connected with the application of the Ukrainian language and with the efforts to raise its prestige and importance as the foundation of culture. What most disturbed those present was the predilection that the authors of the draft showed for compulsory, undemocratic methods to settle problems that might arise. This was stated by comrades from a number of Kharkov institutes which, owing to historical circumstances, have many Russian students. In connection with the switchover to the Ukrainian language in teaching,

certain complications are to be expected there, particularly if this process is artificially forced. Or what position should be assumed, for example, by the Ivano-Frankovsk Petroleum and Gas Institute, whose students will for the most part go to work beyond the republic's borders? The participants in the meeting were glad to see that I. Drach realized these problems and displayed a well-balanced, sober attitude to them: Haste in these matters is superfluous and even harmful.

Moreover, it was interesting to see a change in the tone of the conversation. It began with rather sharp tones and, to some extent, even in the spirit of confrontation, but gradually, as the positions were defined, the differences in the interpretation of a number of current topics proved to be surmountable whenever the sides were well-disposed toward each other and willing to renounce pressure and coercion. I. Drach was in favor of friendly cooperation, and so was the audience, particularly after the speech delivered by I. Zyazyun, rector of the Poltava Teachers Training Institute. The latter condemned the confrontation that has been noticeable in recent times among various groups of the intelligentsia, and called on the audience to cross the threshold of prejudice, to jointly look for and find ways to settle the immediate problems of Ukrainian culture.

In a word, the meeting showed that, when there was a desire, it was possible to find mutual understanding, even on the most controversial questions of the present day. It was not mere chance that the call which resounded in the hall at the end of the meeting best conveyed the mood of the moment: "Let us adopt a decision for cooperation, and not for confrontation."

Far East Ethnic Groups Hold Ecology Conference

LD2602035489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1234 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Nikolayevsk-na-Amure (Far East) 25 Feb (TASS)—Representatives of the small ethnic groups of the Far East—the Nivchi, Ulchi, Negidaltsy, and Evenki—outlined a longterm model for economic utilization of the riches of the taiga and the lower reaches of the Amur at a conference today.

It was noted in the speeches that negative trends had started to appear alongside the socioeconomic achievements in past decades. Traditional industries—hunting, trapping marine animals, and fishing—were going into decline. The number of old villages and settlements was falling.

It was agreed that the Amur and the taiga, the foundation of the Northern peoples' economic structure, need urgent assistance. It is essential to sharply cut back the scale of forest clearing and reduce the intensive processing of timber. The river, where virtually no fish are netted, needs reliable ecological protection and the construction of a broad network of fisheries and fish farms. Having reached a conclusion on the profligate and unconsidered expenditure of the natural riches of the Far East region by the central ministries and departments, the participants in the conference expressed themselves in favor of giving the functions of true people's power to the local soviets.

* Academician Warns of Nuclear, Ecological Crises

WA18000525 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Academician Vitaliy Iosifovich Goldanskiy, chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee and deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against Nuclear War, by S. Guk: "The Logic of Reason Instead of the Logic of Egoism"; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Technology long ago outstripped the human consciousness. Today we are beginning to realize fully the side effects of the scientific-technical revolution: the threat of nuclear war, destruction of the environment, regions of hunger and epidemics, exhaustion of natural resources. What lessons from this development should mankind firmly master here at the end of the 20th century? This question served as the starting point for our conversation with Academician Vitaliy Iosifivich Goldanskiy, chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee, deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against Nuclear War, and a candidate for USSR people's deputy from the Soviet Peace Fund and eight other Soviet public organizations.

[Goldanskiy] To put it briefly: We cannot go on living like this. With regard to ecology it is time to renounce this formula that we once proclaimed: Man's dominion over nature. This idea even crept into things Lenin said. But all things change, and today we have no right to talk about man's dominion over nature; we need to talk about their peaceful coexistence, about curbing man's aggression against our environment. We must realize that the harm that man does to nature will in the end come back to haunt him. We cannot go on mutilating the world around us the way we have been.

Let us consider the military aspects of our life. We can no longer tolerate the view which regards war as a possible means for resolving contradictions, for continuing politics by other means. War as a means of "settling scores" should become a relic of the past, and this applies to both nuclear and conventional war. The latter could, in view of the tremendous amount of energy employed by our society (nuclear power plants plus chemical enterprises), cause consequences just as catastrophic as nuclear war.

The concept of mutual deterrence is hopelessly outdated. One must admit that in its time it played a certain role in putting the brakes on, in preventing the outbreak of war between East and West, but today it has become a threat

to the existence of humanity. The danger exists of a conflict starting accidentally; people's lives are entrusted to computers which can malfunction. Now this concept should be replaced with a different one: the concept of self-deterrence, of self-limitation—nuclear, industrial, energy-related, whatever you like. The logic of egoism must give way to the logic of reason.

A transition to new thinking under these conditions is inevitable, because this thinking is not based on moral principles only (which are in themselves extremely important); the changing circumstances of our lives require a new level of consciousness. The present-day state of scientific-technical progress is pushing us irreversibly in that direction.

Scientific-technical progress today rests upon three foundations: nuclear power, development of space, and computerization. The first makes military conflict between East and West illegal. The two other factors have made our world extraordinarily small. They have turned our planet into something like a communal apartment: now everyone knows what his neighbor is doing. The basis for a reliable system of mutual verification has been created, and a new factor has appeared in international relations: deterrence through verification. As long as there is no mutual trust its functions should include mutual monitoring and observation. These create trust. In my opinion we should move ahead in these directions.

Common human values have now come to the fore. Imagine: if beings from outer space attacked our planet everyone would immediately unite to repulse them. During World War II the USSR, the United States and England fought together against the threat of fascism. This short-lived alliance was the precursor of new, realistic thinking. Today the role of extraterrestrial invaders is being played by the ecological situation and the threat of war. We are faced with the problem of human survival.

[Guk] In other words, in a way the world has entered a qualitatively new environment where the old laws are no longer operative. Today we cannot keep on trying to ensure our own security at the expense of others. On the contrary, we must be guided by an apparent paradox: if you want to live securely you must think about your neighbors' security. Through purely military means you will not achieve security—just the opposite. What recent events in the military realm would you call outgrowths of new thinking that give us a hope of one day freeing our planet from the threat of destruction?

[Goldanskiy] There have definitely been outgrowths of this new thinking. The Medium-Range Missile Treaty with the United States was a breakthrough, a transition from abstract political thinking to specific embodiment of new ideas. There is real hope that a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic warheads will be concluded. The path to it was laid down by the previous agreement to eliminate an entire class of missiles. We are on the verge of new steps toward disarmament: in Vienna the East and the West have stated their intentions of reducing the size of their armed forces in order to make them purely defensive in nature. A world free of nuclear weapons is a realistic long-range goal. My faith in this is strengthened by unilateral measures as well: the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces and armaments announced by M. S. Gorbachev at the UN and publication of data on the numerical correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces. That is a step toward openness, and that is encouraging.

Thanks to the development of space technology and computers it is becoming more and more pointless to keep information secret from ourselves. Under conditions of democratization and glasnost citizens should be informed to the maximum—this is an essential component of new thinking and a guarantee that people will become full-fledged participants in politics.

The next step is publication of full data on our military budget. Just look what happens otherwise. According to Soviet sources our military expenditures in dollars—I am using figures supplied by the London Institute for Strategic Studies that were derived from our own data—it appears that the USSR's military budget during the 1976-85 period was 23 billion dollars annually. The Institute also cites three other sources: the CIA, the Pentagon and the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. According to their calculations our expenditures were over 200 billion dollars annually. I think this figure is much closer to the truth than the official figure of 23 billion, which is a simply ridiculous figure. There are no miracles. We ourselves talk about parity in armaments. How can parity be maintained by spending 23 billion while the other side is spending 300 billion for the same purpose? And the whole world realizes this. Hence the lack of confidence in us. We must finally reveal our real defense expenditures for the sake of our own prestige, for the sake of confidence in the transformations we are undertaking.

Overall, I repeat, there are encouraging factors, there has been progress in reducing the threat of war, humanity is on the right road, but we must be fully aware that this will be a long road.

[Guk] But there are also quite a few other facts which cast doubt on whether humanity has really come to its senses. Consider: everyone has acknowledged the impossibility of nuclear war, yet our planet nevertheless continues to be rocked by underground nuclear testing for the purpose of perfecting the very weapons which threaten all living things with total destruction. We are told that these tests are necessary in order to "improve" nuclear weapons, and that the weapons themselves are needed to maintain parity. How can we combine efforts to maintain parity with new thinking?

[Goldanskiy] I think the principle of parity is outdated and destructive.

[Guk] We are allowing ourselves to be dragged into a long nuclear marathon....

[Goldanskiy] Exactly. We cannot go on living beyond our means.

By way of comparison: U.S. national income in 1989 will be approximately one trillion dollars; ours is a little over 450 billion rubles a year (over 700 billion dollars at the official exchange rate). In order to maintain military and strategic parity we have to spend—let us be truthful about this—not much less on defense than the United States does. We merely need to subtract this sum from national income in order to see who has more left over to spend on peaceful purposes. If this goes on our lag behind the world economy will continue to grow. Therefore we need to strive for parity above all in the peaceful production sectors and in the military realm make a transition to the principle of reasonable and adequate defense. It is senseless to compete in the military realm, calculating who can destroy whom how many times over. Parity in the world economy, not in the military realm—that is what we need.

On the subject of underground testing. Remember: from 1958 to 1961 the United States and the USSR complied with a secret moratorium on all forms of nuclear weapons testing. Unfortunately and to our shame we were the ones who violated that moratorium. The reason given was that France had continued its nuclear testing. At the time Academician A. D. Sakharov was strongly opposed to this decision. At that time we were very close to a complete ban on all testing, but unfortunately the opportunity was wasted. The treaty between the USSR, the United States and Great Britain signed in 1963 banned testing only in three areas (on land, in water and in the atmosphere). Underground testing was not banned, in large part because at that time we were doing everything we could to oppose monitoring, regarding it as a form of espionage and a violation of the principle of sovereignty.

My personal opinion: the USSR's recent unilateral moratorium on underground nuclear testing did not weaken us in any way. And, insofar as I can judge on the basis of reaction from my Western colleagues, this step increased respect for our country and heightened its prestige abroad. I favor a complete nuclear test ban: under present-day conditions nuclear testing is senseless.

[Guk] Whereas in the field of disarmament there is some light at the end of the tunnel, in the field of ecology the situation is, to al appearances, quite threatening. I recall how as late as 10 years ago our futurologists were confidently rejecting the pessimistic predictions of Western scientists who sought to prove that two plus two equals four; our scientists claimed that the Earth is capable of feeding everyone, that the wealth of the ocean is inexhaustible, and so on. That wealth has been exhausted: the resources of the Earth and the world oceans are stretched to the limit, the protective ozone layer is coming apart at the seams, and air, water and soil are being poisoned. Everyone is talking about the need for emergency action on an international scale, yet every country individually is behaving like a soldier to whom a city has been turned over to be sacked. Is there a real chance of using the time we have left—and some scientists feel that that is no more than 50 years—to draw back from the edge of the abyss?

[Goldanskiy] I think there is, because I still believe in human reason. Scientists are sounding the alarm and proposing specific measures for saving our environment. A recently example was the Dagomys Declaration by the Pugwash Council. It was scientific achievements which gave rise to today's industry with its negative side effects. But the world's scientists are prepared to render effective assistance in preserving our environment.

[Guk] First destroy, then help....

[Goldanskiy] Science merely makes discoveries, which can be used to the benefit or the detriment of humanity. It is impossible to halt scientific thought and progress.

I would remind you of American researcher Rachel Carson, who in 1962 wrote the famous book "Silent Spring." This was basically the first alarm that life on our planet was in danger of perishing. Scientists were the first to warn of the destruction of the ozone layer and the greenhouse effect. Recall the "great construction projects" of communism which did so much harm to the ecological balance. Were scientists the one who initiated them? Everything was done on orders from the "great architect." Scientists merely carried out those orders. Anyone who protested disappeared into the camps. All around the world there have been among scientists both prophets who were the first to signal impending disaster, and careerists who were willing to do anything. And slave laborers—unfortunately that includes those Soviet scientists who at one time were forced to violate their own conscience.

The main factor working against ecology all over the world is the production of energy. There exists a need to satisfy man's growing demand for energy sources. The race to achieve this objective also heightens the ecological threat; this applies to all types of energy. So we have two contradictory tendencies. What is the solution?

What I am about to say is no panacea, but these ideas deserve to be considered. Through energy conservation the West managed to save itself from an energy crisis. Afterwards the situation on the world oil market changed radically: prices fell, causing a negative effect in our economy.

Now consider our planet's energy resources, consumption of which increases by roughly four percent annually. According to data from West German researchers our coal reserves will last 80 years if this trend continues, our oil reserves 40 years, and our natural gas reserves 50 years. Now imagine that through energy conservation

the consumption of energy resources were frozen at today's level. In that case our coal reserves could last 500 years or more, oil reserves 80 years and natural gas reserves 150 years.

[Guk] Passing the necessity of finding a solution to the problem on to our descendants?

[Goldanskiy] No, I mean that the additional 40 years could be of fundamental significance with regard to the creation of solar energy technology or the use of controlled thermonuclear fusion. There is an alternative in the distant future, though no matter what energy sources we use the problem of excess heat being released onto our planet will remain. Excessive warmth means melting of the ice caps, the greenhouse effect and so on.

With the energy sources which we currently have the contradictions between ecological interests and energy consumption are antagonistic in nature. If we succeed in making a transition to alternative energy sources—solar power or controlled nuclear fusion—then the contradictions may remain, but they will be resolvable rather than antagonistic in nature. The main problem is to manage to survive until we master new energy sources. Therefore we need to practice energy conservation and utilize the progressive experience we already have.

[Guk] People tend to interpret new thinking merely as political, ecological or economic in nature. But people do not live on politics or economics alone. They have some sort of more or less adequate perceptions of one another. Without trust among peoples there can be no qualitative progress in international relations. What needs to be done in regard to the public consciousness?

[Goldanskiy] Destroy the perception of "the enemy." In order to do this we must above all get to know each other better. It is for that reason that I attach so much significance to mutual information exchange. All-round exchange, not one-sided. There is a joke that goes like this: how do you describe two politicians of equal popularity, one of whom is "on our side" and the other of whom is "on their side"? The first one is a famous [izvestnyy] individual, and the other is a not un-famous [nebezizvestnyy] individual. It is high time that we stopped making this distinction. We need sober, stereoscopic vision, not euphoria or excessive suspicion. In order to achieve this we must communicate more often and find out about one another. We need differing points of view and combination of many opinions so we can determine whether the course we are on is the correct one. Overall much has been done in this respect in the USSR and abroad in recent years; public opinion polls confirm this.

With regard to our relations with developing countries, it is the successes of socialism—remember what Lenin said—that aid the national liberation movement most of all, not arms shipments.

...When scientists were debating the possibility of discovering other civilizations in our universe, one of the criteria for this likelihood was the lifespan of a highly developed civilization. But what is a "highly developed" civilization? One that can signal the fact that it exists in the universe: its existence is measured from that point until the moment it dies. The length of time that a highly developed civilization would exist was estimated at many tens if not hundreds of thousands of years. Now consider this: it has only been a few decades since the people of Earth became capable of sending the first signals of their existence out into the universe. And now we are already talking about the danger of humanity perishing, or more precisely about the danger of it destroying itself. We have a responsibility not only to ourselves, but also to the universe, at the very least on account of the uniqueness of Earth's civilization. Let us think about that.

* Academician Addresses Economic, Social Concerns

WA18200237 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 4

[Responses to letters from readers by Academician T. Zaslavskaya, director of the All-Union Center for Research into Public Opinion on Socioeconomic Issues of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the USSR State Committee for Labor: "Time of Great Changes"]

[Text] "At present, the course of restructuring is the main concern for Soviet society. What is your view of the situation? As you see it, why is the economic sphere spinning its wheels? What could accelerate the economic reform?"
[Signed] S. Akimov, Donetsk

[Zaslavskaya] Restructuring is advancing, though not as fast as we would like. During these 4 years, a lot has been accomplished not only in the sphere of glasnost but also in the economy: collective contract, lease arrangements, implementation of real economic accountability, development of cooperatives, setting up joint enterprises, and so forth. First, however, all of these measures run into a vigorous opposition by many officials, and for this reason alone cannot reveal their complete efficacy. Second, the stocking of our shops is the main criterion by which the progress and thrust of restructuring are judged. Meanwhile, the path by which the merchandise reaches the customer is a long and difficult one. To accelerate the economic reform, everyone to a man has to be made interested in it; people should be allowed to appreciate the results of their effort. I think that, under these circumstances, we should postpone costly projects which do not facilitate meeting the needs of the populace and should concentrate on reinforcing the purchasing power of the ruble—expanding production of good merchandise at our enterprises, and importing as much as possible the goods we need, primarily drugs, diagnostic chemicals, medical equipment, disposable syringes.... In

this sphere, we are at the level of the stone age. If things keep moving at the pace they have, many years will be needed in order to develop our own production of the vitally needed merchandise.

"I have been reading in the press that too much power concentrated in the hands of the administrative apparatus is one of the most difficult problems of restructuring. So, has the separation of the immediate producer, the working class, from property treated by all as 'nobody's' occurred, and, by this token, separation from real power? In your opinion, how can this problem be solved?"

[Signed] P. Khakimova, Tashkent

[Zaslavskaya] Indeed, very much power is concentrated in the hands of the administrative apparatus. However, the situation is beginning to change to a degree now. The army of officials is being reduced, restructuring is making its positive steps. However, this process proceeds in a contradictory and, in many instances, inconsistent manner. The bureaucracy, including branch ministries and offices, is not prepared to yield anything and is still trying to subordinate the economy to itself. It does not have to be proven anymore that, unfortunately, the Law on the State Enterprise does not provide in practice an environment for autonomous entrepreneurial activities of plants and factories. They still depend on their ministries for many things, if not all.

Certainly, it is not easy to solve this problem. I think that, first of all, most branch ministries and offices should be abolished, thus freeing the enterprises from their fiats. Various trusts, syndicates, associations, and so forth may be created in order to solve large-scale problems. The main point is for these agencies to be formed by the enterprises themselves in order to organize their operations better, be financed by them, and be responsible to their contributors. In this case, employees of the management will stop being the privileged "higher caste," and will work like everyone else, being paid in accordance with the results of their labor....

"At present, many economists consider the financial incentives foremost. There is no argument, this is a powerful instrument which has not been operating at capacity so far. However, I believe that enthusiasm and belief in the ideals are also needed. How can the kind of enthusiasm which existed in our country in the initial years of Soviet power be restored? Is it possible?"

[Signed] S. Prokopovich, Gomel Oblast

[Zaslavskaya] The enthusiasm of the initial years of Soviet power was caused by a unique spiritual condition of a people who has for the first time in history begun to build a truly democratic, happy and fair society. The people were ready to restrict themselves in everything in the name of such an idea. After all, a happy future for them and for all nations of the world lay ahead.

Unfortunately, we encounter a different reality today. On most economic indicators, our society is somewhere in the middle, and on many social indicators—even below the average in worldwide rankings. Naturally, the old source of belief has been depleted. However, man does not live by bread alone. He needs to believe in the ideals he serves in order to be happy. I think that a belief in our undisputed ability to make our common home brighter and cleaner, so that we, our children and our grandchildren could breathe easier, freer and with more confidence, should become a new source of enthusiasm. Certainly this is not the old, postrevolutionary, but a new restructuring enthusiasm.

"What is your concept of socialist society? What are the criteria of its socialist nature? Is what we are building in line with them?"
[Signed] L. Shteynberg, Vladivostok

[Zaslavskaya] Socialism is frequently equated with the social ownership of the means of production. Along this line of reasoning, by eliminating private ownership, driving all cows to the state yard, socializing industry, and so forth we have done everything in order to secure socialism. However, this concept is primitive. Lenin believed that socialism is exclusively such a form of social ownership which provides for a high standard of living of the people and extensive opportunities for their development. I think that socialism is a society in which:

—all basic needs of the populace are met at an adequate level, people live affluently, and the standard of living is growing;
—incomes are labor-derived in nature; those who work better live better, and the exploitation of some [social] groups by others is absent;
—small and large ethnic groups have equal opportunities to develop their own culture, relations between ethnic groups are mutually respectful and democratic;
—human rights and freedoms are at the level of the most developed countries, the law is the same for everybody, and the judicial system is not corruptible;
—political system is democratic, power is exercised by the state through democratically elected representative organs, the executive authorities are subordinated to the representative ones;
—society is humane, that is, it faces the person, it takes care of those who cannot work, it is geared to solving social problems, to developing charity and spiritual culture.

At present, our society does not yet meet these criteria. However, the goals set by the party in conjunction with restructuring definitely serve the reinforcement of socialism.

"Soviet legislation does not forbid strikes. As I see it, many labor collectives frequently abuse them. Both they themselves and workers at contractor enterprises suffer financially on this account. What is your opinion?"
[Signed] L. Kucherenko, Kiev

[Zaslavskaya] Strikes under socialism cannot be considered a regular form of struggle by toilers for their rights. However, we have yet to build the kind of socialism I have just talked about. The sooner the workers, peasants and intelligentsia start perceiving themselves as a sociopolitical force capable of influencing history, the sooner we will build this socialism. If party, soviet and economic leaders will learn to speak to the toilers as equals, that is, demonstratively, quietly and respectfully, if weighty deeds follow words, most likely there will be no strikes. If the demands of toilers run into a wall of indifference, if instead of intelligent and competent managers people run into hard-boiled bureaucrats, then, apparently, they simply do not have another way out in many cases....

"Many hopes were attached to the reform of pay scales. However, it looks like it is obsolete already. Is it not better to let the collective itself distribute the earnings?"
[Signed] S. Semenikhina, Krasnovodsk

[Zaslavskaya] I believe that the system of pay scales in principle contradicts the new economic conditions. After all, the labor collectives now must manage their profit under economic accountability themselves, and make all payments. This means that they should be the ones to distribute the remainder of the profit as collective wages.

"At present, we are witnessing a rapid growth of wages outpacing that of the productivity of labor. This exacerbates inflation. Why is this happening?"
[Signed] R. Klimovskiy, Stavropol Kray

[Zaslavskaya] Under the new conditions of management, in particular, when the income of employees is calculated as a residual after all other expenditures, wages may grow faster than labor productivity, say, due to reductions in the capital- and material-intensiveness of products. If you have saved raw and other materials and energy, your wages go up, though the output of merchandise within a unit of time has remained the same.

Most contemporary economists believe that moderate inflation is not only a normal but even a quite favorable environment for economic growth. The important thing, however, is for wages, retirement benefits and other payments to the populace to grow at a rate not below that of inflation. Unfortunately, so far we have not achieved this. The first step would be to regularly publish reliable data on the growth of retail prices for merchandise and service staples. The state should maintain an open and honest dialogue with its citizens even on the most sensitive issues. When indeces are published, the issue of periodic raises in wages and retirement benefits will arise naturally.

"Sometimes we get to hear that, supposedly, a little bit of unemployment would not 'hurt us.' What do you think?"
[Signed] V. Sementsov, Ufa

[Zaslavskaya] There is nothing good about unemployment. It is not just the suffering of those who turn out to be unneeded by society, even if they receive benefits. This is also a source of crime, suicide, various forms of violence characteristic of the social "bottom."

However, if we want to have up-to-date, flexible production we certainly will not be able to do without continuous releases of some employees in certain lines of production. The issue is to develop an efficient system of vocational retraining of people, and of shifting the employees released to new industries, cities, regions, as well as moving the industries themselves toward the people released. We will encounter a a lot of difficulties in this sphere.

"The standard of living is the most acute issue. Forty-three million people make less than 75 rubles per capita a month. This is the minimum subsistence level. Besides, millions of people make less than 50 rubles. Is this normal?"
[Signed] O. Pokrovskaya, Moscow

[Zaslavskaya] The standard of living in the 72d year of Soviet power cannot be considered normal. First of all, it does not bear comparison not only with that in capitalist countries, but also in the European socialist countries. Secondly, in the last 20 to 25 years this level was going up only in the pages of statistical abstracts which did not care to take into account the continuous growth of retail prices. For many categories of toilers, especially retirees, the standard of living has fallen, though it appears that it could not have possibly gone any lower than it was. Thirdly, the condition of Soviet health care, child care facilities, schools and culture is critical indeed. Fourthly, in all of this we manage to live off our "debts" to our children and grandchildren, squandering the non-renewable natural wealth which we must give to them.

Obviously, we cannot go on living like this. How should we live? First of all, we should learn to work the way they work abroad. Where else can we find a state which loses almost one-quarter of agricultural products year after year, making up for this loss by hard-currency imports? Let us attribute one-half of these losses to the obsolete administrative-command management system. However, you and I are responsible for the second half. We are the ones to produce tractors which rob the soil of its fertility after a pass, and shoes which people are ashamed to wear, and so forth. Frequently, we here the words "we work just the way we live," and on the whole this is true. However, there also is the reverse: "We live just the way we work." If only all of us could understand it! We would be able to achieve a lot in that case.

"I read in the newspaper that you have advocated a price increase. I don't know, but maybe the salary of academy members is such that to you prices seem to be low. However, common people think otherwise."
[Signed] T. Borisenko, Ivano-Frankovsk

[Zaslavskaya] Are you asking how and why an academy member, an economist, and, moreover, a sociologist may demand that prices for consumer staples be raised while ignoring the rapid depreciation of the ruble? If I were you chances are I would also look with an unfavorable eye at the salary of academy members. True, it is high. However, there is a lot of work to be done.

Still, am I really demanding, or have I demanded that prices for consumer staples be raised? The answer is no, I am not and I have not. Two and a half years ago, when the rate of inflation was much lower than it is now, I proposed to carry out price restructuring. The essence of it was for prices considerably exceeding the value of goods (for cars, clothing, footwear, some household items, and so forth) to be reduced; and for prices which do not cover the production outlay for goods, including meat and milk, to be inreased to levels [ensuring] profitability. The difference between raises in prices for some goods and reductions in others was to be returned to the populace through increased wages, retirement benefits, scholarships, benefits, as well as abolishing some of the taxes. In an article published in KOMMUNIST (1986, No 13) I stressed particularly that the populace should not lose a penny as a result of such restructuring of retail prices.

However, when I discuss this issue with various people, I often encounter mistrust: why would the state want to change prices at all if not to obtain additional funds at the expense of the people? Most people are sure that all talk of compensation is a mere facade. We should acknowledge that there are grounds for such apprehensions. Our state has too often done one thing while telling its citizens completely another one, too often it has used every opportunity to increase its share of the "pie" at the expense of reducing the share of the people sort of imperceptibly. This is exactly why I stopped insisting even on the restructuring of retail prices, all the more so because in an environment of unrestrained inflation, i. e., spontaneous increases in prices for basic goods, it largely does not make sense anymore. Today, we will bring order to prices, sort them out as necessary, but tomorrow they will creep upward again, and the entire order will come undone. Price growth may be accelerated to such a degree that salaries will not be able to keep pace.

Why did I believe in 1986 that a restructuring of retail prices was necessary? Let me use an analogy to explain it. Imagine that you have three children whose school results are similar—they are grade B students. However, the teacher always gives a C to to the first one, try as he might; she gives a B to the second one, and an A to the third one. I am afraid you would have difficulty raising children in such an environment. The first one would quickly lose his belief in fairness, while the third, thinking too much of himself, could go astray entirely. The parents are outraged, and they go to the school to ask that the teacher explain herself. On the way there, they meet a friend, and he cannot understand what the difference is for them, as long as the children together have the same B grade point average. Presumably, three B's are the same as an A, a B, and a C.

Why am I telling this story? When we sell a "Zhiguli" [car], the self-cost of which is 2,000 to 3,000 rubles, for 9,000 or more, this, in effect, amounts to giving an A instead of a B. On the other hand, when we sell meat which costs its producer 4 to 5 rubles, at 2 rubles per kilogram this amounts to giving a C instead of a B. A price system not tied to the real cost of products is as harmful for the economy as a teacher giving grades depending exclusively on his mood is for school. This is a bad system. However, now is definitely not the time to change it. This is why I am against not only a one-sided price increase (about which, incidentally, I breathed not a word before) but also against a relative restructuring accompanied by compensating to the populace the losses incurred. I think that [a propitious] moment for implementing this measure has now been missed.

"What has been your impression of elections in the Academy of Sciences? What is the reason for a lack of support for popular scientists? Is the atmosphere at the general session of the Academy of Sciences indeed so reactionary?"
[Signed] A. Kosov, Arkhangelsk Oblast

[Zaslavskaya] Collectives of most institutes of the academy showed great interest in nominating candidate deputies. If memory serves, a total of 150 to 200 persons were nominated, whereas the academy was assigned only 25 seats. Therefore, we had to select 40 or 50 of the most worthy contenders who would continue the preelection struggle out of several hundred. They did not convene a general session of the academy for this purpose. They assembled a narrower circle of scientists, only members of the division bureaus. I did not take part in these elections, and I do not know how they proceeded. However, I was not the only one to be struck by their results. After all, only 23 candidates to the 25 potential seats were elected, and absent among them were academicians A. D. Sakharov, R. Z. Sagdeyev, O. T. Bogomolov, A. G. Aganbegyan, as well as Doctors of Economic Sciences N. P. Shmelev, G. Kh. Popov and others. As was reported in the press, on 2 February a protest meeting was held in which scientists from leading institutes of the Academy of Sciences took part. They demanded that the results of elections be voided, and that new elections be held on a broader, democratic and open basis. I support this position.

"About the role of science in restructuring, in particular, the economic science. At present, many people are saying: what kind of theory is it, if nothing changes in practice? Store shelves are the indicator of practice. Do you think that scientists have miscalculated? Will we ultimately succeed in saturating the merchandise market? As it is, 70 billion rubles (according to other estimates, considerably more) are not covered by deliveries of goods..."

[Signed] Yu. Klychev, Frunze

[Zaslavskaya] Your rebuke to science would be fair if it instructed the sphere of management how to proceed, and that sphere heeded its advice. In reality, it is different: science is harping on one thing, whereas the sphere of management by and large does not listen to it and does what it sees fit. Moreover, it frequently tells science what it should say, and punishes the latter for disobedience. Under these circumstances, individual scientists should bear personal responsibility for their decisions, but science as a whole cannot be responsible for the actual state of affairs. The management sphere bears the brunt of responsibility for the condition of our store shelves.

"In summer, I went to visit my aunt in the country. This is a beautiful and abundant area, and it could feed the urban dwellers, but the locals lack foodstuffs themselves. Rural areas have 'lost their peasant heritage.' They say you were in favor of liquidating small villages altogether. Can you see now what the end result of it is?"
[Signed] V. Kazakov, Vologda

[Zaslavskaya] Rural areas "have lost their peasant heritage" due to many reasons. Forcible collectivization of peasant farms accompanied by the "kulak expropriation" of the most dependable owners was the first blow. Then came the 1933 famine and a tormenting 4-year war the burden of which both the workers and the peasants had to shoulder. Then came the reconstruction of cities and industries, again at the expense of the ruined rural areas, primarily at the expense of collective farmers. According to my calculations, the state appropriated for its budget one-half of the entire profit of collective farms through low grain prices and high taxes in 1963. At the time, the income of collective farmers was three to four times lower than the salary of workers, and this is why young people from rural areas migrated to cities. Over there, life was not only richer, but also merrier and more interesting. After all, between 1917 and 1965, the state invested 11 times more funds per capita for social and cultural projects in urban areas than it did in rural areas. The results were in line with this socioeconomic policy. Now they are talking about ways to bring back former peasants to rural areas from large cities. Trouble is not too many people are willing to move from a city which has stores, schools, and hospitals to that small village. It is high time for bringing the standard of villages closer to that of cities, so that life there will be no worse than in the city—this is the issue.

Could it be that somebody artificially gave an impetus and accelerated the process of decay of small villages? Yes, this was the case. For example, in 1962 the Central Research Institute for Civil Construction Planning in Rural Areas of the USSR Grazhdanselstroy issued and distributed to field offices "Guidelines on Methods for Compiling Land-Use Plans for Agricultural Regions." It was written there that "the existing inhabited localities are classified into prospective ones, which are to be expanded and given amenities, and non-prospective, which are to be gradually liquidated as the housing stock depreciates." The USSR Gosgrazhdanstroy was a powerful organization; it defended its point of view staunchly. This point of view was not only propagandized in the press, but also implemented in practice: new housing construction and building of cultural and service facilities in small villages were forbidden.

In 1970, there were 469,000 rural settlements in the USSR. In the mid-1970's, the USSR Gosgrazhdanstroy suggested, in conjunction with preparing the Comprehensive Program for Economic and Social Development of the USSR until 1990, to reduce the number of villages in our country to 120,000, or almost 4 times, in the next 15 years (before 1990). Between 1973 and 1976, I managed an interagency task force set up by the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences in order to evaluate the prospects for demographic, economic and social development in Soviet rural areas. Along with other tasks, we were to determine the most likely and the most socially desirable number of rural settlements in the long run. The forecast had to be realistic, and at the same time it had to reflect the influence of a progressive social policy. It did not appear possible at the time to completely arrest the process of decay of small villages: over 5 years, every such village was losing about one-third of its population. Having balanced all considerations, we came up with the number of 280,000 to 290,000 settlements in 1990 as the most likely and at the same time desirable. The 1989 census of population will determine the exact number of rural settlements in our country. However, it is known that in 1984 there were 292,500 of them, that is, quite close to our forecast.

"For 25 years, you worked in the Siberian Scientific Center, and now you moved to Moscow. What can you say about the efficiency of the management apparatus in science?"
[Signed] L. Gurezova, Azerbajani SSR

[Zaslavskaya] I compare the beginnning of my work for the Academy of Sciences (1950) with the present time. Over the almost 40 years I have worked for the academy the trend has always been the same—toward increasing the bureaucratization of management. At times, I think that the cumbersome and costly apparatus of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences strives not to aid the development of science, but to throw up as many obstacles in its path as possible. This is manifested in the more complex planning of research, in publishing activities, and in the organization of international scientific contacts. A multitude of unnecessary papers emanate from the presidium of the academy. Indeed, the apparatus of managing science which emerged in the period of stagnation is not only unnecessary but also harmful.

"What are your goals in life? What are your dreams on a personal level? Struggle calls for a fighting spirit. Is it difficult for a woman to be involved in such a struggle?"
[Signed] V. Krupeko, Krasnoyarsk

[Zaslavskaya] I am 62 now, and this determines the kind of goals in my life. I want to complete the research I started, to finish the work "Economic Sociology" which I started together with Doctor of Economic Sciences R. V. Ryvkina. A "sketch" of sorts of the first volume, a monograph entitled "Sociology of Economic Life," will be published this year in Novosibirsk; however, the way to the implementation of scientific ideas is a long one. My other task is to complete the formation of the All-Union Center for Public Opinion Research. An excellent collective of employees has been put together. However, as often happens, real work still cannot begin. There is no space; the arrival of machinery is delayed; communication with field offices is poorly set up; our Moscow employees work out of three locations. It seems that these are trifles, temporary difficulties. However, our entire life is temporary. I would like to see the center turn into a perfectly operational information plant at which public opinion is not only studied and analyzed but also discussed with the public, formed, and used in preparing important decisions.

Whether or not I have that fighting spirit... I still believe that women are made for peace, love and family more than they are for struggle. However, life itself is a struggle, especially at a time like ours. If you want to be a personality, a citizen, you have to fight for what you believe in.

"Were you not afraid to lose your job when in the years of stagnation the higher-ups got angry over your memoranda to the CPSU CC? What were you writing about at the time? What was the response to this 'upstairs?'"
[Signed] I. Shlenskiy, Moscow

[Zaslavskaya] The higher-ups were angry not on the account of privileged memoranda which we submitted to the CPSU CC. On the surface, the memoranda were received favorably, but they were put on the back burner. Attempts to make acute social problems the subject of a broad public discussion incurred genuine wrath. For example, in 1959 and 1960, "Methods for Comparing Labor Productivity in USSR and U.S. Agriculture," which I coauthored with M. I. Sidorova, were denounced and "classified" even for the authors. THe point was that, according to these methods, the USSR lagged behind the U.S. on this indicator by a factor of 4.5, and according to N. S. Khrushchev—only 3. A commission was set up in the institute which was charged with "revealing" our mistakes. However, the methods turned out to be correct. Nonetheless, the results of 2 years of work were never published.

In 1970, the censors removed the most pointed and interesting chapter on the migration of young people from our book "Migrations of Rural Population," that is, exactly on the process of devastation of rural areas mentioned above. Luckily, no disciplinary penalties followed. In 1975, an article of mine on the social issues in Siberian rural areas was removed at the demand of higher-ups from a completely printed run of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (No 1). This was justified by the 10th anniversary of the March (1965) CPSU CC Plenum on agriculture, due to which writing about victories rather than problems was recommended.

In 1983, Academician A. G. Aganbegyan and I received a reprimand from the Novosibirsk Oblast Committee of the CPSU for my report "On Improving the Production Relations of Socialism and the Social Mechanism of Economic Development," in which the issue of the crisis condition of our economy and the need to profoundly change the management of the economy was raised.

In the process, I have neither been fired nor even demoted once. Furthermore, all along I have been surrounded by friends, like-minded people and students who shared with me my joys and my sorrows. This is what real happiness is all about.

Shortcomings, Future of Restructuring Viewed

LD2802142089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 5, 2-8 Feb 89 p 3

[Untitled article by Aleksandras Krasnovas; from the "Week" section.]

[Excerpts] In the annals of historical perspective, last week will go down as an ordinary week; for me, however, that week was special. My 20-day stay in Chicago and New York served to clear the cobwebs from my eyes and helped me to focus on things which I had previously either become accustomed to or had simply failed to notice. Earlier, for example, I would not have paid any attention to so a trivial a matter as the lack of baggage carts at Sheremetyevo International Airport. At Kennedy Airport, all you need is a dollar and you can avail yourself of even 10 such carts. In Moscow, a redcap with a cart is like a VIP; he is trailed by a herd of pleading passengers who are pressing R3, R5, and some even R10, or $10, into his hand. As I observed this, becoming angered by such disorder, it suddenly dawned on me that it was to these redcaps' benefit. If many carts were to appear there, they would become the unhappiest people on earth. Thus what appears as a terrible disorder to some is perceived as perfect order by others. Deficit and lack of order are the lot of a large segment of the population, and they defend it to their last breath, constantly reconfirming it. [passage omitted]

It is precisely such trivia that give us an explanation for why the USSR has been restructuring for four years already without an end in sight—when are we going to start living normally?! Restructuring has, after all, been started from the top, by the hands of "people's servants." It is not as if party committees and ministries of various rank would sincerely acknowledge that the government structure has totally compromised itself. It is not as if they would allow themselves to be let off into undeserved rest. Is it not for this reason that restructuring skids along successfully in one place, while compensating for lack of

substantive economic changes with deafening propaganda chatter? Is this not the reason for impeding market relations—because they are not compatible with the current "ministerial" amd "committee" administrative system? The greatest enemy to reforms is thus neither Stalinist ideology nor the principle of wage-levelling (as restructuring's compromising—pardon me—'touch-up troubadours' attempt to convince us), but the vital economic interests at the ruling level.

Last week presented an especially vivid example of restructuring drowning in a quagmire of compromises. I am refering to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting, during the course of which economic programs presented by the Baltic countries were not seriously considered, according to newspaper and television coverage. The well-trodden path of uniform centralization was chosen once again.

Sovereignty is not a gift to be graciously presented to us by the "center"—we need to struggle for it ourselves. It seems at long last that even the highest levels of Lithuania's Government have become convinced that submissiveness has not and will not provide any political dividends for us; it is necessary to demand and not to plead for our rights. To my way of thinking, this is what A. Brazauskas meant in his speech during his meeting with the scientists from the Academy of Sciences, in which he pledged to defend the genuine and not the paper idea of independence. The letter by the Vilnius City Party Committee Plenum to CC CPSU Secretary Razumovskiy was to me quite unexpected. In it a lower party organ is publicly criticizing the highest body—which until now had been enveloped in an aura of holiness—for inactivity and insensitivity to lower members' opinion. Even yesterday such a letter would have seemed impossible. Too much rejoicing at this fact may not be warranted—this letter will undoubtedly disappear without trace in the sea of writing, as did many others. The attention of many was no doubt directed to the decisive Lithuanian CP CC election declaration. "Sovereignty—that is our nation's exclusive right to the land, the forests, nature and cultural wealth, and finally to our Constitution, laws, citizenship, state language, and freedom to maintain relations with other soviet republics and foreign countries."

Who could transform this declaration into reality? While searching for an answer, one's gaze falls upon the slowly unwinding election to the USSR Supreme Soviet campaign. The world surely has never seen such a complicated and illogical election system. That is not the most important consideration, however. The greatest importance lies in the fact that Lithuanian deputies will constitute a tiny minority in the Soviet, and that we will hardly be able to hear them. This has already been attested to in more than one meeting, as well as in more than one conservative decision. I have higher hopes for the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet elections in the fall. Perhaps deputies elected in conscientious rivalry will succeed in withstanding pressure from local and outside "centers," and will adopt a new Constitution to guarantee republic sovereignty. Let us await individuals worthy of election confidence.

Election platforms have, by the way, been publicly announced by Communists, Komsomol members and trade unions. Sajudis has to date not announced their election program. Why? Is it because they do not hold a union organization status and cannot elect deputies directly?

At the end of last week, unexpected and at the same time long-awaited news reached us from Poland. The Polish Communist Party Central Committee has decided to legalize "Solidarity" and has announced political pluralism. I consider this especially instructive. The Polish Government, having experimented with many compromise reform variants, seems, after an interval of eight years, to have finally understood that economic reforms will not succeed without deep political reforms and without granting legal political status to opposition forces that are offering a variant program for the country's development. Let public debate, argumentative opposition, and resulting political action back the party's aspirations to become the ruling social force. To date, such pretensions were only supported by medicine-man incantations—the party expresses the interests of all the people and there is no need for others. The people's fronts, movements, and unions that are active in many of the republics are formed just like parties, to one extent or another. Is it not high time to acknowledge this, and to consolidate it in the Constitution? [passage omitted]

It appears that our highest level of government is not yet prepared to take the political step proposed by Poland. Could it be that we are going to march along with the entire caravan, establishing eight-year loops? Perhaps it is already enough?

Article Urges End to Literary 'Trench Warfare'

PM0103095389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by A. Neverov under the rubric "On Literary Themes": "Who Will Continue the Dialogue?"]

[Text] Quite recently it seemed that the unceasing polemics in literary periodicals about our country's and our culture's past and future might move in a more peaceful direction, that the distortions of these polemics, which are unpleasant but which can be explained by the absence of basic democratic experience in our country, would be overcome without much effort in line with the deepening debate about important and serious matters.

But no. The barrage of mutual recriminations has still not dried up, virtual political labels and abuse instead of arguments are rife, and the "sides" do not want to listen to each other. All this also inevitably affects the level of discussions. All too often, personal and group ambitions

gain the upper hand over the desire for the truth. Particularly where the limits of certain publications are sharply fixed, and where a kind of "trench warfare" is going on.

In this situation the necessity—and this has been mentioned repeatedly, even from the highest platforms—of dialogue, which can focus general efforts on resolving positive tasks, is obvious to many people. Dialogue which is as keen and impartial as you like, but which assumes the unconditional recognition of every opponent's right to his viewpoint, attention to his arguments, and mutual respect.

It seems that this this form of "clarifying attitudes" adapts to the international arena more easily that to the literary sphere. It is capable of dispelling many prejudices and suspicions. Here it is difficult to distort someone else's idea "with impunity"; it is not so much emotion but serious arguments which are required from interlocutors—which increases mutual responsibility and thus makes the search for the truth easier.

A sense of the urgency and the productivity of dialogue in grasping the reality of a society's cultural and political life and the prospects for its development arises when you read, for example, the literary-critical collection "Stance," published recently by the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishers. On seeing the compiler's name—V. Bondarenko—in the MOSKVA journal, some experienced reader familiar with his articles, which are not devoid of extremes, will decide that only the critic's kindred spirits are represented here. And he will be mistaken, because a variety of works are included in the collection. Not only on the assessments of certain phenomena or works, but also on authors' points of departure and views. It is enough, probably, to name some of them to understand the principle on which the book was compiled. People argue with each other—either directly or indirectly—in articles by Yu. Burtin and M. Lobanov on the role of NOVYY MIR and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in the literary process of the 1960's; by S. Kunyayev and L. Lazarev on war poetry; by I. Klyamkin and A. Kuzmin on our history and culture; and by B. Sarnov and V. Bondarenko on the state of literature today. We already know these articles from the journals and newspapers. But when the debate is carried on in the same book, this produces an effect somewhat different from the one where critical "salvos" are fired from a covered position, that is, from "their own" publications. This rouses the reader to think more actively and, as the notes suggest, to make a "clear comparison of viewpoints and an independent choice." "Stance" is also an eloquent document of the time, affirming pluralism of opinions. "The Experiment of a Critical Yearbook"—this is the subtitle of the collection. In our view, a reassuring experiment.

The recent television encounter of the "heavy" journals' chief editors under the rubric "Restructuring and Culture" also aroused interest. The leaders of various publications taking diverse stances—ZNAMYA and MOSKVA, NASH SOVREMENNIK and NEVA—took part in the broadcast prepared by the Main Editorial Office of Central Television's literature and drama programs.... The editors answered readers' questions, and spoke about topical problems, in particular factionalism in literature. Each of the conversation's participants kept to their opinion, but it was important that the observer could compare, contrast, and analyze these opinions.

Here is a dialogue in the direct sense of the word: "Weekly Dialogue"—the new rubric in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Last month the critics I. Zolotusskiy and A. Lanshchikov took part in it. Some event or publication occasioned it, then the conversation moved on to more general problems: the people and the intelligentsia, our perception of foreign Russian literature which is "returning," the true values of socialism and spirituality, and the situation in today's criticism. Each of the discussion's participants displayed firmness in defending his viewpoint, and this gave the dialogue a genuine edge. The opponent's reaction forced the speaker to build a clear system of argument, to be logical and convincing.

It is important that the debate did not turn into an intellectual game, a verbal joust; though elements of competition cannot be avoided in such instances, they are not overplayed. The interlocutors' main concern is not how they look in someone's eyes, but the desire to get closer to understanding the essential processes taking place in literature and society, and to find some common denominator among diverse views, to get rid of prejudice, and to remove misunderstanding.

There is the opinion, for example, that the root of all disagreements among writers and critics is their attitude to Stalin. One says that he is in favor of telling the terrible truth about him and his rule, and others continue to bow down before the image of the "leader and teacher." In the first "Litgaz" conversation it emerged that both critics fully agreed about their view of Stalin but that their differences lay in a different plane. But it turns out that they are also surmountable. The situation arises when "dialogue can turn into monologue".... A. Lanshchikov and I. Zolotusskiy showed themselves to be keen polemicists, but also interested partners.

The next pair—N. Anastasyev and Yu. Davydov—maintained the tradition this month. The topic of conversation was factionalism in culture, the influence of the world vanguard on young people's creativity, and "blank spots" in Soviet philosophy and literature. The feature of the February meeting is the greater orientation on theoretical problems (which accords with the interlocutors' interests), and on highly topical problems which relate directly to today's reality.

...Those who doubt the necessity of consolidating creative forces, who think that "It Is Too Early to Look for Reconciliation!" (this is the title of a recent article), fear a return to the featureless standardization and neutralizing like-mindedness which is so convenient in the system of administration by edict. Such fears can be understood. In addition, it is naive to hope for the sides' "fraternization"—after all, there are basic differences. Should one be talking about a harsh dilemma? Is it a question of false agreement, or "civil war" in literature? Isn't the inertia of "black and white" thinking affecting this?

The first dialogues in question show the possibility for some consolidation—based on recognition of the need for society's democratic renewal, on objective analysis of the past where a dynamic diversity of opinions exists, on complete freedom to express them openly, and on respect for different viewpoints.

Statute Regulates Press Access to Disasters

PM2802141989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

["Topical Interview" with N.N. Chetverikov, secretary of the USSR Journalists Union Board and chairman of the All-Union Council for Professional Ethics and Law, by unidentified TASS correspondent: "The Press and Extreme Situations"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The editorial offices of a number of newspapers have received appeals regarding the alleged anticipated introduction of new procedures for allowing journalists access to the scene of natural disasters, industrial accidents, and quarantines and other areas where extreme situations arise.

A TASS correspondent put this question to N.N. Chetverikov, secretary of the USSR Journalists Union Board and chairman of the All-Union Council for Professional Ethics and Law.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Nikolayevich, could you clarify the question?

[Chetverikov] The positive changes taking place in society, glasnost, and the democratization of all aspects of our life have opened up broad opportunities for journalists to obtain access to information sources. Relations between the press and state, economic, and public organizations are now being put on a new footing. Last summer the USSR Journalists Union and the USSR MVD signed a document on measures to restructure mutual relations and strengthen cooperation, and each side made certain pledges. In accordance with these pledges, internal affairs organ staffers, in particular, must help journalists in every possible way to fulfill their professional duties.

An extreme situation—a major fire or accident where the militia, internal troops, and military subunits often delimit restricted zones—is another matter. Indisputably, everyone cannot be admitted to an area of heightened danger since this entails risk to life and impedes work. Last year's document did not provide for such cases. The statute on the procedure for mass media representatives' access to and presence in areas of accidents has been elaborated to supplement it.

[Correspondent] What is the nature of this statute?

[Chetverikov] The statute provides for the right of correspondents with a certain type of "press" card to stay in a restricted area. There are plans to introduce two types of these cards—personal cards and cards made out to the bearer. They differ in that the former shows a photograph of the owner and indicates his surname and the press organ where he works, whereas the second is anonymous. The cards made out to the bearer will be kept at the editorial office and issued to correspondents; they will be personally responsible for them while carrying out their assignment.

[Correspondent] Doesn't the new statute restrict journalists' freedom of action? What's your viewpoint?

[Chetverikov] Should it be thought that the introduction of special cards will introduce some element of restriction or limitation of democracy? I think not. This is because the editorial offices themselves specify the number of "press" cards they need.

On the other hand, if you look at the current admission procedure, not only does the new statute not limit or restrict journalists' opportunities but, on the contrary, develops matters that the press has already achieved through cooperation with the MVD. On showing a previously registered "press" card, a correspondent will be able to go wherever he needs to go unimpeded.

As I said before, the attitude toward the press has changed among the people who collaborate with it during emergencies—I mean MVD organs and the Soviet Army. They have the task of providing information, offering assistance, and ensuring the security of mass media workers.

[Correspondent] How does this statute accord with a future law on the press?

[Chetverikov] At present no such law exists. Life demands that many of the problems faced by press workers at the scene of emergencies be resolved today. Hence, if the law on the press contains all the rights envisaged by the statute, there will be no need for such a document. At present the statute plays a positive role by creating most-favored-status conditions for the press in restricted areas.

However, we have now halted the implementation of this statute since it was elaborated prior to the adoption of the final document of the CSCE meeting in Vienna. The results of that meeting, as is well known, were examined at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Inasmuch as the Vienna accords are valid from the moment they were adopted, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has recommended that USSR ministries and departments immediately set about practically implementing them. This also compels us to check that the statute corresponds with the Vienna document.

[Correspondent] What do these finishing touches amount to?

[Chetverikov] This work is necessary not because the statute does not accord with journalists' interests but because the additional rights it grants to mass media workers may be considerably broadened in light of the Vienna document.

Official on Protection of Communication Privacy

PM2402140589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with S. Gerasimov, first deputy chief of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office Investigations Administration, by S. Taranov under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Privacy of Correspondence Protected by Law"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Recently IZVESTIYA has heard increasingly often from people who have received letters from abroad. Their letters and packets have been opened and examined en route. Often the mail reaches the addressee in pieces. It is virtually impossible to find out who opened it and at what stage: All the authorities deny involvement. But what does the law say about this kind of interference in citizens' personal lives?

We put that question to S. Gerasimov, first deputy chief of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office Investigations Administration.

[Gerasimov] Let us open the USSR Constitution. Article 56 says: "The personal lives of citizens and the privacy of their correspondence, telephone conversations, and telegraphic communications are protected by law." The precise form of that protection is explained by Article 135 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (there are similar articles in the Criminal Codes of other union republics): "Violation of the privacy of citizens' correspondence, telephone conversations, and telegraphic communications is punishable by up to 6 months' correctional labor, a fine of up to R100, or public censure."

These requirements of the law are not contradicted by the article of the USSR communications charter which says that "any information about postal and telegraphic items and about telephone communications may be issued by communications enterprises only to the sender, the addressee, the participant in a telephone conversation, the telephone subscriber, or their legal representative."

[Taranov] What about people working for investigation and legal agencies—can they intercept and inspect postal or telegraphic correspondence or eavesdrop on telephone conversations?

[Gerasimov] Not without authorization. But if there is a need the investigator must first submit an application stating the reasons for the interception of the postal or telegraphic correspondence and obtain the permission of the prosecutor or a court ruling or resolution. Mail is examined and seized in the presence of witnesses from a communications establishment. In some cases the investigator is entitled to summon an appropriate specialist. This is covered by Article 174 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure. That article, I would point out, says nothing about the procedure for intercepting telephone conversations.

[Taranov] What about the purposes of intercepting correspondence? How clearly defined are they?

[Gerasimov] The following purposes are mentioned: the examination of correspondence; confiscating correspondence and creating obstacles to the exchange of information during an investigation between interested parties; detecting persons who participated in the commission of a crime; establishing the hiding places of wanted criminals; and discovering the places where stolen goods and instruments of crime are hidden.

Incidentally, the period for which correspondence may be detained may not exceed the period of preliminary examination or the period of investigation if an investigation is in process. There is another significant point: During the examination and seizure of mail the investigator is obliged to keep its contents secret. In this process it is permitted to take a copy (including a photocopy) of the materials being examined. All postal items—letters (ordinary, registered with statement of value, and routine registered), telegrams, parcels, postcards, and so forth—may be detained, examined, and seized.

[Taranov] The Code of Criminal Procedure does not list the people whose correspondence may be detained. Does that mean that any citizen's mail may be detained?

[Gerasimov] Such a conclusion does not accord with the provisions of the constitution. Therefore, the Code of Criminal Procedure clearly notes: "Only the mail of suspects, accused people, and people associated with them may be detained."

[Taranov] Where does someone go if he suspects interference in his personal life? Straight to the court? To the prosecutor's office? The militia? For example, what

about an envelope that has been opened or a parcel that has been tampered with? After all, if the recipient opens them it will be hard to prove that his mail was "opened" by someone else...

[Gerasimov] If the letter has arrived at your place of work it would be advisable to complete a form confirming the incident. Then contact the communications establishment which delivered the correspondence. If you are not satisfied with the communications workers' explanation you have a right of appeal to the prosecutor's office. Cases relating to Article 135 of the Criminal Code are dealt with by prosecutor's office investigators.

According to the figures of the RSFSR Ministry of Justice, five people have been convicted under Article 135 in the past 2 years. In 1987 A. Buvalin, Kursk party gorkom first secretary, instructed V. Izotov, chief of the city telephone exchange, to eavesdrop on a gorkom department chief's telephone conversations, which were recorded by workers at the automatic telephone exchange using a portable tape recorder. The plot was exposed with the help of party obkom workers and the oblast prosecutor's office began an investigation. Buvalin and Izotov were soon relieved of their duties and expelled from the CPSU. The criminal proceedings against them were stopped because of an amnesty.

However, the investigation was helped by a chance event—they were caught in the act. But what about more complicated situations? For example, you think that your telephone is being tapped. But it is very hard to prove that the "suspicious" clicks in the telephone or the fact that the line suddenly goes dead are due to someone's malicious scheme rather than the poor work of the automatic telephone exchange, many of which have equipment which is hopelessly old-fashioned or have no electronic or automatic equipment... In brief, I would stress once more that this problem needs to be studied and the law needs to be tightened up. In the United States, for example, the law stipulates the circumstances in which a telephone may be tapped. In our country this question is tactfully ignored.

It is the same with international correspondence and mail to and from foreign countries. This is in the interests of the state and of each of us to ensure that the country is not infiltrated by objects banned from entering the USSR—drugs and pornography, for example.... But the in the rule-of-law state which we want to create this sphere must also be regulated by the law and the law alone, not by secret instructions.

Official Explains New Book Export Procedures

PM2202125589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 Morning Edition p3

[Interview with Ye. Ponomareva, chief of the USSR Ministry of Culture Mass Cultural Work and Library and Museum Affairs Main Administration, by correspondent N. Kishik under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Books Traveling Without Visas"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Culture has issued an order establishing a new procedure for controlling the export of books and other printed matter from the Soviet Union. Is this lifting of restrictions to the benefit or the detriment of Soviet culture?

Our correspondent had a meeting with Ye. Ponomareva, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry ot Culture Mass Cultural Work and Library and Museum Affairs Main Administration.

[Kishik] Yevgeniya Stepanovna, what prompted this revision of regulations?

[Ponomareva] Until now, we have worked on the basis of the "Instructions on the Procedure for Controlling the Export of Cultural Values from the Soviet Union" (which includes printed matter), adopted in 1987. Under these regulations, the export ban extended not only to really valuable publications comprising our national wealth but also to many books published in mass editions. The instructions, although recent, contained superfluous "prohibitive" clauses and were rather vague and complicated. The wording was not clear and the criteria whereby books were defined as a "cultural value" had been eroded.

Questions have arisen on virtually every point. After all, even the specialists find it difficult to understand all the restrictions, which supplement and add details to each other.

These regulations also extended to correspondence. But the country has 900,000 postal departments, whose personnel simply became lost in all these "mays," "may nots," clauses, and subclauses....

[Kishik] What about the new regulations: Do they allow what is not prohibited?

[Ponomareva] Yes, we have endeavored to follow this principle to the maximum. Items unsuitable for export are designated in six clauses. These are supplemented by three more clauses to clarify what exactly must be agreed on with the Ministry of Culture. Nothing has been left to chance in them, and rare books are protected from export. The date of publication serves as the reference point in the first three. The following cannot be exported: Soviet books published through 1925; foreign books, including publications using the Cyrillic and Glagolitic script, published through 1800; and periodicals through 1945. These restrictions are well-founded.

A footnote states that printed matter published from 1926 through 1945 may only be sent by post and taken out of the country with the permission of the Ministry of Culture. Anything published any later than that—since 1946—will be allowed through without impediment by any mail or customs official.

[Kishik] What has been shown by the initial experience of applying the new regulations?

[Ponomareva] We have visited customs. People are taking out books bought in recent years that have been published in mass editions.... They are mainly Russian classics. We are not distressed by this in any way. On the contrary, we believe that people should maintain a link with their own culture—they themselves and their descendants.

I would like to remind you that there is an international convention on these problems and we have confirmed that we are a party to it—which means that we should abide by it. But all its rules amount to just one point: It is prohibited to export rarities from the country.

Lawyers Union Congress Opens in Moscow 24 Feb

LD2502040989 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—The main functions of the USSR lawyers union, a constituent congress of which opened in Moscow on Friday [24 February], are to extend the rights, to increase the legal protection of Soviet lawyers and to draw them into energetic activities to create a state committed to the rule of law in the Soviet Union.

"It is essential radically to change the status of Soviet attorneys-at-law," Georgiy Voskresenskiy, chairman of the Presidium of the Moscow Bar Association, chairman of the Organizing comission of the USSR Lawyers Union, told TASS.

There are now 27,000 lawyers in this country but, unlike judges and investigators, they are lacking legal protection, he pointed out. By virtue of this, they are quite often subjected to blackmail on the part of unscrupulous officers of the court, and are debarred from defence counselling. Cases are known when particularly 'recalcitrant' lawyers were sentenced to imprisonment on trumped-up charge, Voskresenskiy said.

"Without raising the role of the lawyers it is impossible either to build a rule-of-law state or democratise the activities of judicial bodies and law enforcement agencies," the lawyer emphasized.

The lawyers union will press for enabling the defense lawyer to have contact with a suspect and to participate in investigation from the moment of a person's arrest or detention, and not when a verdict of guilty is brought in, as is practiced now, Voskresenskiy pointed out. The lawyer should have an opportunity to carry out his own investigation. Then judicial proceedings will be of competitive nature. He must be independent of local authorities.

"The USSR lawyers union will become a public organization the membership of which will be voluntary," Voskresenskiy said. "Our all-union organization will have the right to legislative initiative. We shall also be able to elect our deputies to government bodies and to participate in the drafting of laws of the USSR."

According to Voskresenskiy, the union will be able to give assistance to joint-venture enterprises and to resolve legal matters. At the same time proposals have come in from abroad to set up joint law firms to protect the legal rights of soviet and foreign citizens, enterprises and cooperatives.

Attorneys Union Chairman Comments on Tasks

PM2802130589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with G.A. Voskresenskiy, chairman of the new USSR Union of Attorneys, by V. Portnikov: "To Protect the Attorney"; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The constituent congress of the USSR Union of Attorneys has ended its work in Moscow. RSFSR Meritorious Jurist G.A. Voskresenskiy, chairman of the presidium of the Moscow city collegium of attorneys, has been elected its chairman. Our correspondent has asked Georgiy Alekseyevich to describe the tasks of the new association.

[Voskresenskiy] The Union of Attorneys is a social self-managing organization, entirely on a par with other creative unions. The defense attorneys who are admitted to the association may be members of republic, oblast, or city collegiums of attorneys. What we are trying to do above all is to make the legal profession strong, uncompromising, and independent. For this two conditions are necessary—unity and legal protection of attorneys against certain unscrupulous officials in investigation organs who try to "curb" lawyers who are too "obstinate" or energetic. In our country judges and prosecutors cannot be brought to account without the permission of the relevant authorities. Only attorneys are defenseless. We want to ensure that their position accords with the interests of jurisprudence and society and with internationally recognized norms.

[Portnikov] During the preparations for the congress there was much talk about the excessive dependence of attorneys on departmental tutelage....

[Voskresenskiy] For this very reason we have set up a social organization which operates on the basis of the USSR Constitution. In accordance with the Law on Attorneys, the collegiums are subordinate to the USSR Ministry of Justice. This is why our most immediate plans include the establishment of a commission for the elaboration of a new law or its replacement by a provision on the collegium of attorneys which would assure it

the status of a self-managing organization. The establishment of our union is only the first step in a radical restructuring of the Soviet legal profession which is getting under way. Without it, the creation of the rule-of-law state is unthinkable.

Jurists Discuss Work, Status of Judges

PM2702151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 8

[G. Ovcharenko report: "Themis Seeks the Truth. Toward a Rule-of-Law State"]

[Text] A joint session of the USSR Ministry of Justice and the USSR Supreme Court was held in Moscow yesterday.

The fairness of justice lies in the truth. Only an objective, comprehensive analysis of the circumstances of a criminal or civil case and observance of the presumption of innocence lead to a just verdict. This axiom is known to jurists.

But why is it, as USSR Justice Minister B. Kravtsov and USSR Supreme Court Deputy Chairman A. Filatov stated in their speeches, that people frequently do not find justice in law-enforcement organs, people's courts, and higher courts? Last year cases were dismissed against 1,667 convicted persons as a result of appeals and supervision alone.

Of course, in the search for the judicial truth a great deal depends on the personality of the judge. Principledness, total "deafness" to pressures of various kinds, rigorous observance of the letter and spirit of the law—this is what distinguishes a real judge. We have many such servants of Themis.

But there are other facts too: facts of a careless, unscrupulous, "skeletal" approach to the matter. Last year alone 642 judges incurred disciplinary punishments for dereliction of duty.

However, where is the guarantee that new judges will be better? I believe that here we must not put our trust only in the personal qualities of the person taking over the judge's chair. It is necessary legislatively to give him independence from any influence and to create conditions for a quest for the truth. Here the two fundamental documents for judicial reform must, of course, play a role: the draft Fundamentals of USSR Legislation on the Judicial System and the draft Law on the Status of Judges. Jurists are now discussing them and, alas, finding many flaws in them. Yet the place and role of the judge as the chief instrument of law and order and of democracy and the real conditions of judges' independence, work, and life depend on the form in which these documents are eventually adopted.

At present, and this was also pointed out at the session, these conditions are not the best. As of January this year, more than one-third (!) of the judges in the country lacked proper working conditions.

It is not easy for Themis to learn the truth. Let us remember this. Let us help justice. Without this we will not live to see a rule-of-law state founded on fairness.

* Criminal Draft Leaves Loopholes 'Untouched'

WA1800056S Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by V. Malgin, oblast court consultant: "Judge Remains a Plaintiff"]

[Text] We, the lawyers, are anxiously waiting for the legal reform. However, even the first draft of the Basic Criminal Law leaves the norms of the period of stagnation untouched.

Indeed, in these remote years, obsequious prosecutors released from criminal penalty the people who were guilty but "needed" after receiving a phone call, thus usurping the rights of courts. On the other hand, they found guilty those who were innocent and did not have a right to defend themselves: the materials of the investigation were considered secret, and even defense attorneys were not given access to them.

The legal reform must primarily sever the bonds of protection, favoritism, and corruption, disconnect all the lines of "the phone law" in order to actually implement the principle of equality of all before the law.

However, the draft submitted for discussion does not meet these aspirations. I will only refer to two of its articles, 57 and 58.

The first one declares: "An individual who has committed a crime not constituting a grave danger to society may be released from criminal responsibility if it is possible to attain the goal of his correction and reform through applying measures of social persuasion."

Let us note that at present this applies to the main bulk of criminal cases. Let us go on quoting, however.

"Provided the grounds referred to in part one of the present article exist, a prosecutor, investigating magistrate or investigative organ with the consent of a prosecutor, as well as a court may release the individual from criminal penalty...."

Please, note: it is not the court first of all, but the prosecutor, the investigative and inquest organs who have the right to release an individual from criminal responsibilty anyhow, having found him guilty.

Is it not strange that the court—the only body which, according to the constitution, may find an individual guilty of a crime—is the last one on this list? Administrative agencies are clearly given preference.

Let us turn to the next norm, Article 58:

"An individual who has committed a crime may be released from criminal penalties if it is determined that, by the time of the investigation or court proceedings, this individual has ceased being a danger to society..."

Inasmuch as Article 57 still has some legal confines, Article 58 is altogether boundless. It may also apply to a grave crime. A clever mechanism concealed in it provides an opportunity to discontinue any case quietly inside the law enforcement agency.

This is how it is done. In November of last year, at midnight, drunken hooligans beat up a man unknown to them at a bus stop. This landed the man in the hospital with the temple bone of his skull broken. Two persons were brought up on criminal charges. The fact of battery was established, and the hooligans were found. However, after a period of time, the militia investigator discontinued the case "by reason of changes in the situation." What exactly had changed? Had hooliganism in Tomsk disappeared? Or had such actions ceased being a danger to society?

One more example is taken from the article "What We Have Voted Against" (IZVESTIYA 1988, No 365). A criminal case against an enterprise director was also discontinued on the pretext of "changes in the situation": the accused was assigned to study at... the Academy of National Economy.

Such examples are many. Meanwhile, the draft proposes to transplant the article in its entirety from the old to the new code without even trying to define more precisely what is meant by a person ceasing to be a danger to society and how changes in the situation are to be interpreted.

They may tell me: these are, supposedly, judgment calls, and it is difficult to come up with a general formula in this instance. I agree. However, this makes it even harder to understand why making such judgments is entrusted to one official, the prosecutor, rather than a body with the accuser and the defender participating? Does this not contravene the Constitution of the USSR? Does this not strike at the very foundations of the concept of the state of law?

Unfortunately, so far we have two judicial systems: the official and open one—the court, and the closed, backdoor one—the prosecutor's office. It is exactly in the quiet of offices that celebrated cases are settled quietly, that they are discontinued following a phone call from a high offiice. It is bad that the draft intends to preserve the backdoor judicial system.

Let us be realistic. A decision by the prosecutor who finds an innocent person guilty is practically the equivalent of a court sentence. It can cause a person to be removed from his post, expelled from the party, be publicly dishonored in the press, or have a suit filed against him seeking thousands of rubles. An individual is helpless before the prosecutor's office, he has no right to a defense. All he can do is complain: to the mid-level prosecutor—about the lower-level prosecutor, and to the upper-level prosecutor—about the mid-level prosecutor.... Most frequently, all complaints are returned to the prosecutor they are about in the first place, and the circle closes.

As a lawyer who worked as a judge for many years, I have familiarized myself on many occasions with resolutions of the prosecutor's office which asserted the guilt of a person. Usually, the courts solicit such documents when a civil suit is filed. Do you think that in these cases the court is entitled to evaluate the evidence put together by a prosecutor or an investigating magistrate? Not at all.

These are the guiding explanations given by the Supreme Court to the courts of our entire country:

"If in the course of trying a case on indemnification for damages... the court comes to raise questions as to the grounds for the determination by the investigative organs that signs of deeds punishable under the criminal law are present in the actions of an employee the court should approach the relevant prosecutor with a request to reconsider his determination."

Thus, according to the norms in effect, the judge himself turns out to be a plaintiff. He is the one to write to the rayon prosecutor, and the latter responds: "Our determination was correct." Then the people's judge approaches the oblast prosecutor in an effort to bring about the revocation of a clearly illegal determination.

Everything is turned upside down: it is not the prosecutor who proves to the court the guilt of the person he has already found guilty in his determination, but it is the judge who asks that the determination be revoked.

Insofar as is known, a draft law on enhancing the status of courts has already been prepared. The goal is to finally turn our courts into a lofty agency of justice worthy of the state of law.

This is why I believe that it is high time, and it is also necessary, to change articles 57 and 58 of the draft Basic Criminal Law. They should state concisely and clearly: "Any completion of a criminal case by virtue of circumstances other than those meriting exoneration may only be done by the court."

It is less important how this is going to happen—on a petition of the investigative and inquest agencies, with the consent of the prosecutor, or at the request of the prosecutor himself. One thing is beyond a doubt: a

person should be found guilty of a crime, whichever category it falls into according to the new classification, only by a court, openly, publicly, with the participation of the defense, with a right to appeal this decision to courts of all levels. Only in this case will we get rid of back room justice.

Internal Affairs Officer on Recent Crimes

LD2702143289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 24 February carries a 7-minute program entitled "Ministry of Internal Affairs, Reports and Comments," introduced by Marina Tumanova, in which she talks to the program presenter, Lieutenant Colonel, Internal Services (Anatoliy Grigoriyevich Anfertyev). Tumanova says that listeners want to hear details about the results of criminal investigations. (Anfertyev) cites a few instances of robberies in Uzbekistan, and goes on to say:

"In one of the broadcasts we reported about the theft of three automatic Kalashnikov weapons—a low calibre gun—and 80 cartridges from the gun room of the secondary school in Podgornyy, Rostov Oblast. As a result of prompt investigative measures, Mahomed Gazutev and 'Abdul Rashidov were detained for this theft. The weapons and ammuniton were confiscated. These facts, as you can see, are evidence of the concrete work and the results of the work of members of the Internal Affairs bodies. In the period between 17-24 February, 75 particularly dangerous crimes were committed in various regions of the country." He notes that this is approximately 100-120 crimes per month in the USSR. After citing further instances of cases ranging from robbery to murder, (Anfertyev) goes on to list and describe a number of instances of deaths and serious injuries among students caused by drinking antifreeze and unrefined spirits. In connection with this, Tumanova notes that the antialcohol measures have, in reality, a reverse effect.

After describing a fight between teenagers in Dushanbe, (Anfertyev) notes "115 people were detained and taken to the militia quarters for this hooliganism. The investigation of this extraordinary event continues. In the course of last week, weapons were used as an extreme measure by the militia members while curtailing hooligans and juveniles in the town of Gorlovka, Donetsk Oblast, and in Tashkent, Leningrad, Sumy Oblast, and Krasnodar Kray. Five narcotics dealers—from whom were confiscated 17 kilograms of hashish and 2 kilograms of (?aniseed),—were detained in the towns of Alma-Ata, Frunze, and Samarkand. I would like to report that according to data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, militia members last year confiscated around 25 tonnes of narcotics and various kinds of raw materials for their production." (Anfertyev) concludes the programme by drawing listener's attention to the fact that three militiamen involved in the Ordzhonikidze children's hijacking received the Order of the Red Star.

Economic

Specialist on Economy Interviewed on Budget Deficit

AU0803120189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Mar 89 p 6

[Interview with Mikhail Voyeykov, doctor of sciences, department head at the Economic Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by an unidentified NOVOSTI correspondent: "1989: Optimism Persists"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Question] Some economists assume that even if all employees in the country stopped receiving wages tomorrow, the national economy would still have to work for 2 years if it wanted to cover people's savings. What is your view of the overall financial situation in 1989 in light of this?

[Voyeykov] Regrettably, the USSR state budget is not in balance. The deficit for 1989 has been set at R35 billion, which is 7 percent of the budget or 4 percent of gross national income, which is the method of calculation used in the West. The accelerated implementation of the social program (construction of apartments, pre-school and medical facilities, schools, and so forth) will complicate the situation further. All this will be very costly. [passage omitted]

These expenditures cannot be avoided. A different matter is that we must know with absolute precision in which form these expenditures will yield return and what measures we must take to head off a financial crisis. There is a proposal, for instance, that we should generally move away from the free state construction of apartments to individual or cooperative construction financed by the population. At some point we may indeed do so, but today there still exist several reasons for retaining the state form of housing construction. The main reason is that, as a result of a flawed pay policy, the overwhelming part of the country's population simply does not avail itself of the resources to finance construction. Because we made the promise that by the year 2000 we will ensure a separate apartment or house for every family, we must abide by it, even at the cost of financial losses.

In my opinion, the development of the cooperative movement, too, will exacerbate the financial situation. The cooperatives will undoubtedly attend to a higher production of consumer goods and an expansion of paid services and the mass consumer will therefore feel better on the market. On the other hand, the cooperatives' employees will accumulate huge financial reserves. How can this problem be solved? A high level of taxation would slow down the development of the cooperative movement and it is thus evident that a new strategy for consumption needs to be worked out. We need high-cost

consumer goods and services which, on the one hand, would conform with the socialist principles of consumption and, on the other, satisfy even the most exacting demand.

[Question] I think that all these are but cosmetic improvements of the budget that do not tackle the problem of the financial deficit head on. Do you not have a more radical recipe at hand, as a scholar and economist?

[Voyeykov] A solution exists and everyone knows it today. It resides in discontinuing the production of an enormous quantity of goods that are not needed and in eliminating unwarranted losses. Let us cite but a few examples. A case in point is the Ministry of [Land Reclamation and] Water Resources. It devours billions of rubles and its activity sometimes produces damage worth many millions of rubles. The economic profitability of enterprises administered by the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry is two to four times lower than that of analogous firms in the West. Instead of raising the efficiency of its existing factories, the ministry has decided to build 15 new plants and has asked for over R2 billion from the state. Our machine building industry produces roughly two-thirds of the production volume of U.S. machine building. However, we are spending 1.7 times as much labor, 1.3 times as much metal, and 1.4 times as many production assets.

If we succeeded in properly processing and supplying to the consumer without losses everything that grows in our fields and on our farms, the country's food production would be 35 to 40 percent higher. I could carry on this enumeration, but will add only one more thing. According to economists' rough (but relatively realistic) estimates, 10 percent of the USSR national income is generated for no purpose at all. In other words, once we stop churning out goods that are not needed and do away with losses, we will cover the entire budget deficit (including the financial deficit) and will still have some funds left.

[Question] You have drawn a gloomy picture here. When I spoke to you 1 year ago, you said that you were looking into the future with optimism. Do you have some of this optimism left for the year 1989?

[Voyeykov] Certainly. We have entered this year with improvements in a number of economic indicators and, something which I regard as the main achievement, with progress in the ideology of restructuring and with accurate knowledge of its sensitive spots. In the first 3 years (1985-1987) we only felt that something was troubling us, but we did not know how to heal it. Today we know how to heal it and are not afraid of admitting it to ourselves. If this awareness is also supported in 1989 by political reform, we can count on a qualitative leap.

* Economist Argues Against Wholesale Price Hikes

WA18200232 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by A. Matlin, doctor of economics sciences, professor: "Do Not Do Harm!"]

[Text] **Can the consequences of one economic decision or another be predicted? I realize that this is a rhetorical question. Such predictions are not only possible but necessary, for otherwise such an economic policy would be worthless. In an effort to cure the old illness of our economy faster, we frequently forget that the first order is not to harm the patient. Nonetheless, even today, under the conditions of the radical reform, resolutions are being passed, clearly with no thought about what they will turn into tomorrow. The result is that for each step forward we take two steps backward. The decisions which were made to change wholesale prices, the implementation of which was undertaken this year, were clear confirmation of this fact. One of the main problems which must be considered by the authors of such resolutions (described in detail by A. Komin in the journal PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO) is how will the enterprises behave under the new wholesale prices? Will they be interested in efficient work or not?**

Today we can see the way the old losing enterprises are recovering with the conversion to new economic management forms. The existing prices make them profitable. They are changing their equipment, technology, and production organization, encouraged in this by the economic mechanism itself. How will they respond to the new wholesale prices?

Let us assume that such prices will be increased by the end of the year, as stipulated. At that point all enterprises will become profitable no thanks to their economic activities but by the will of the superior management. And once again it will be the "makers of restructuring," the plants which concentrated their efforts and turned from losing into profitable ones that will be left holding the bag, while the smart ones will be those which stuck to the old rules of the game. And everything will follow in the habitual ruts. In 1966, 15 percent of all industrial enterprises were losing; 1 year later, after the wholesale price increase, they all became profitable. In 1981, once again, 15 percent of all enterprises were losing and all became profitable after prices were raised. Today once again 13 percent of enterprises are losing but in 1990 they will become profitable.... But for how long?

The second and no less important question is the following: Will the increase in wholesale prices turn into yet another inflationary round and lead to a hike in wages?

Let us once again turn to our own experience. It indicates the following: Ministries have always waited for increases in wholesale prices so that, with the thus

earned profit, they could ask the government's permission to raise wage rates and salaries. For example, the unprofitable Ministry of Coal Industry immediately "ate up" the additional profits by raising salaries after the 42 percent increase in coal wholesale prices in 1982.

Even the administrative-command system was unable to avoid transferring part of the overall amount of increased wholesale prices to the wage fund. Today it is even less possible to avoid it. Therefore, although the state budget is expecting tremendous profitability from the new wholesale prices, it will be futile to expect any increased revenue from industry. It is totally puzzling as to how the inevitable jump in wages, not backed by output, will be coordinated with strict control over the correlation between wages and labor productivity (although many are those who question such methods). The anticipated budget revenue will be spent, incidentally, not only on higher wages but also in additional cost increases. Actually, if metal prices are increased production costs in all metal consuming sectors will inevitably increase by the same amount.

The biggest problem facing our economy is that of an economic structure which is "full of holes." Due to the lack or the primitive condition of processing sectors, a tremendous portion of the industrial and agricultural raw materials produced in the country vanishes into a "black hole."

How do we rescue ourselves from this difficulty? Obviously, from the point of view of common sense, we should create a modern production structure. It is only to the extent to which this has been achieved, that we should extract raw materials, so that everything can be preserved and everything be used. No other method exists.

Yet, we are being told that in order to reduce raw material losses we must...raise raw material prices! Let us consider the wholesale prices of crude oil and products of petroleum refining. In this case, the already high profitability of crude oil extraction will be increased by a factor of 3.5 while the profitability of petroleum refining will decline by a factor of 2.5! Obviously, the ministry will be encouraging the extraction of crude oil, reaching all the way to the Arctic Sea with nuclear ice-breakers. It is equally clear that the ministry is not concerned with the development of petroleum refining. A similar situation exists with all other types of raw materials. Extraction profitability will grow but the profitability of all processing sectors, including the light and food industries, will be declining. Shall we thus achieve a conservation of raw materials or, conversely, waste such materials to an even greater extent?

It is true that today we are usually referring to global prices and are mentioning the need to attain their level. Obviously, these are convincing arguments!

Efforts are currently being made in our country to create joint enterprises and to ensure the convertibility of the ruble or, in short, organically to link our economy to the world community. One should consider why this is liked by Western businessmen, in addition to their natural respect for our political leadership. Economic reasons exist as well: a huge market, inexpensive manpower and tremendous reserves of inexpensive raw materials. Quite properly, we intend to eliminate the inexpensive nature of the manpower and, because of this, broaden our domestic market. However, is it sensible to stop luring foreign capital, or neglect possibilities of domestic development, such as inexpensive raw materials? This is quite doubtful.

We should also consider our own way of life. So far the extracting industry has not enhanced the quality of our life. We have hardly begun to live better after creating a huge hole in the chernozem in the center of Russia for the sake of mining iron-ore. Estonia is groaning under the weight of plans for the use of its shale. And all of us are suffering from the nuclear power industry. Incidentally, in this matter the requirements of economics and ecology coincide entirely: Under the present wholesale prices, one-half of the nuclear power plants operate at a loss. With the planned increase of rates for heat and electric power we shall no longer notice that the nuclear power industry is, for the time being, an experimental production facility and that it is still too early to "launch its serial production."

In short, wherever we look, the usefulness of the reform contemplated by the USSR State Committee for Prices, is unclear. Rather the opposite.

At this point we should raise another touchy problem which, unfortunately, is unavoidable. In his polemic notes A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Prices, incidentally blamed the science of economics as follows: "...Instead of engaging in practical discussions, some authors of many articles in newspapers and journals reject "from the start" such suggestions without, frequently, offering anything constructive but instead guided exclusively by emotions and the desire to present themselves as the defenders of the interests of the people. Meanwhile, serious arguments and suggestions on price setting are proclaimed a priori unacceptable."

But what are we to do, dear Anatoliy Nikolayevich? You do not turn to the scientists, you are not proposing the creation of a temporary scientific and technical collective which would formulate alternate plans. Furthermore, you have monopolized the right to provide information. Probably not everyone knows that we are the only country in the world in which the intersectorial balance of the production and distribution of the public product is kept secret. Equally entertaining is keeping secret data on average production costs while production costs by company are available, i.e., data which in the

"Wild West" are, precisely, treated as commercial secrets. Without possessing such information we, scientists, are forced to rely only on experience and on theory.

Theoretically, however, it is common knowledge that changes in wholesale prices are balanced entirely, for the sum of their increase equals the sum of increased production costs in industry, agriculture, construction, and transportation and increased budget outlays for the maintenance of the nonproduction area. In the 1920s, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy himself empirically sensed, before an intersectorial balance had been drawn, that the growth of wholesale prices can yield nothing in our economy other than an identical increase in production costs.

Therefore, the first step in a radical price reform should be the elimination of all accretions of the period of stagnation: of planning, accountability, and calculation of production costs. We should eliminate the numerous fictitious expenses. Even the most basic estimates indicate that production costs of industrial output today include no less than R100-150 billion which, in fact, are state budget, sectorial, and enterprise revenue. The tremendous double accounting, which appears in the pursuit of gross indicators, must be eliminated. At that point it will become clear that the agrarians are right, when they keep repeating the thesis of inflated wholesale prices. Also right would be the ordinary citizens in the country who would feel the burden of the increased prices of commodities produced from industrial raw materials, ranging from furniture to television sets.

What would improve our economy is not an increase but a reduction in wholesale prices. What else should be done if we have a scarcity of essentially consumer goods? Means of production are actually more than sufficient. Stocks of raw and other materials alone are worth close to R500 billion, nearly three-quarters of the annual national income and the annual volume of individual consumption! Let us not even mention uninstalled equipment and unused fixed assets. This situation should be considered as overproduction in which, according to any economic law, prices should drop and not simply decline.

The necessary reduction of wholesale prices is blocked by the interests of the most lagging and most inefficient enterprises. With such a reform it is only the best, and the most progressive and efficient enterprises that will remain.

The main thing is that we have prepared the national economy for such a test. The possibility of bankruptcy in the reorganization of enterprises has been contemplated and so have measures for the social protection of workers and employees. This is demanded by society as well, which realizes, instinctively perhaps, the danger which was pointed out in the resolutions of the 15th Party Conference: "Increasing sale prices is particularly dangerous under the conditions of the actual monopoly of state industry, for this inevitably leads to technical stagnation within it and to the strengthening of bureaucratism in the entire economic apparatus."

The reduction of wholesale prices will make it possible to move the economy ahead in the necessary direction. It is only under the conditions of reducing the cost of the means of production that a growth in production profitability of consumer goods is possible and, consequently, the economic incentive of everyone to switch resources to producing the type of commodities which are truly needed by the population. Otherwise, the increased production of consumer goods, contemplated by the party, will inevitably face the lack of resources which were invested in the manufacturing of means of production.

Such a reform would help reduce, strange though it might seem, the state budget deficit. On the surface, a smaller industrial profit will seem like an irrecoverable loss. However, the lowering of wholesale prices will have a beneficial influence on the overall situation with monetary circulation. Does the State Committee for Prices ask for such a "constructive suggestion" by science? I fear that it does not, for otherwise its representatives would have found them a long time ago in the articles by economists who, alas, not on suggestions "from above" but on their own initiative are still formulating them in the press.

Newspaper 'Roundtable' on Machinebuilding Exports

* Ways To Increase Competitiveness Cited

WA18250100a Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Academician A. Aganbegyan. "It Is Possible To Double Machinebuilding Exports"; this article and the following article were part of a SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 'roundtable' on the competitiveness of Soviet machinebuilding in the world market; date and place not given]

[Text] What must be done to increase competitiveness in machinebuilding? First, for machinebuilding, priority must be given to the foreign market. Without broad access to the foreign market we shall not develop advanced machinebuilding. Interest in exports can be generated very easily with the help of economic levers and incentive....

Taking into account the strategic importance of machinery for the development of Soviet machinebuilding, I think that enterprises should keep all their foreign exchange earnings. At least for the next several years. It is essential to create a real money market, that is, sell currency at its real value and make the ruble convertible both ways. All barriers must be removed against sending people abroad to provide services and to study and gain experience.... We must come as close as possible to world

conditions. World standards, not our own invented standards, must be introduced. World certification practice must be introduced in general for all our machinebuilding output. With price reform, our prices must be as close as possible to world prices.

Favorable terms must be offered to exporting collectives. Perhaps even part of wages should be paid in foreign exchange. Special clubs should be set up in which it would be possible to order any commodity from a catalog and pay for it in that foreign currency. This would provide powerful incentive for other collectives.

A cascade of proposals is pouring in from the West. Many firms are enormously interested. I met with a group of businessmen from the United States. Presidents of large companies. They came to establish links. They are ready for any kind of cooperation. The first time without profit; they want to have the Soviet market for the future. They are not as primitive as they used to be painted—snatching and grabbing.... They have been educated differently. Some are prepared to sell their products for rubles before the end of the century. When the ruble becomes convertible, they say, then we will exchange them.... But we did not even meet the Chicago businessmen at the airport. Their accommodations were poor. The program was disrupted. They just made helpless gestures. It would seem that the country would be very interested in cooperation with them. Schedule them to see enterprises, surround them with attention, work with them.... No. Complete indifference. No organization.

In 1987 Sovintsentr refused entry to more than 40,000 businessmen because it had nowhere to accommodate them. There are no hotels! We are turning away those who want to establish links with us and sell their products here, and, naturally, buy from us. The businessmen will find something to buy.

It should not be thought that the market in the capitalist countries is only a hi-tech market and that they need only numerically programmed machine tools. They need a mass of ordinary universal machine tools. We must learn to trade. We need personnel. Tens of thousands of specialists familiar with the marketing system, with their system of standards and certification and with company law. Enterprises have been given access to the foreign market but they have no personnel. Previously the Ministry of Foreign Trade solved the questions, but now everything has been turned over to the enterprises. Trade how you like. I was in Oxford. Four hundred Chinese were studying business science. There were only two people from the USSR. China pays Oxford in foreign exchange. They are prepared to teach our specialists free. We are unable to choose those who are worthy! We are not sending our people to study. I have been in England. When we met Mrs Thatcher she said: "We shall be happy to help restructuring. We are prepared to accept several thousand people for training. Free." Do you think that we have selected even one group? We have not even responded to the letter....

I think that in the very near future we can double machinebuilding exports if we set about it seriously....

* Machinebuilding Modernization Urged

WA18250100b Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by V. Serov, department chief in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations: "There Have Been Changes for the Worse"; this article and the preceding article were part of a SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 'roundtable' on the competitiveness of Soviet machinebuilding in the world market; date and place not given]

[Text] The structure of our exports over the past three 5-Year Plans has changed for the worse. The dominant place is held by fuel and raw materials. The proportion of machinery and equipment as part of total exports is two or three times worse than in the developed countries. While we are a major producer of machinery and technical products we are virtually unnoticed in world exports: Our share is 0.4 percent. The main reason for this is the low technical level and poor quality of Soviet machines. They do not meet present-day requirements in the foreign market.

Analysis of export output from the eight machinebuilding ministries has shown that only about 12 percent of articles satisfy the requirements of the foreign market. And this takes into account the developments that are being made abroad in presale preparation of products. This accounts for up to half the foreign exchange expenses incurred in delivering to the developed capitalist countries. Moreover, it has become clear that almost 62 percent of articles put on the market are obsolete. According to figures from the USSR State Statistical Committee, during the first half of last year 36 ministries and departments ran more than 194,000 advertisements for export goods. Total costs to eliminate defects exceeded R20 million.

Foreign companies have long since moved on from the stage of planning and design and now proceed on the basis of marketing concepts, that is, they develop a product with particular characteristics in demand in a specific market. Unfortunately, in our country the production of machinery and technical items has been focused primarily on the domestic market. The approach to exports was on a residual basis. The producer was not interested in exports. And the domestic market was a relative concept; it was not used in the generally recognized meaning of the word.

Under the conditions of a market economy the production of competitive goods is the main idea in the business activity of the company. Our enterprises should also follow this rule now that have been granted access to the foreign markets. But in order for this rule to operate effectively it is essential to observe one condition: Exporting under the terms of obligations should become a primary necessity and the main interest of the enterprise and the sector. The prerequisites for this have already been created.

Until machinebuilding has been modernized and the technical level of output raised there will be no special orientation on satisfying the demands of the world market. The introduction of international standards in Soviet machinebuilding is taking place with great difficulties, certification work is slow, and things are unsatisfactory with our machinebuilders in terms of studying the market.

Resolution of all these questions requires active efforts by economic and sector science and the foreign trade organizations, but most of all by the developers and producers of particular machines. Exports of those machines must be oriented on a specific market. Marketing must be engaged in in a most serious fashion.

Official on New Tax System for Cooperatives

LD0803140989 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 8 TASS—The new taxing system for cooperatives, endorsed in late February by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), is not aimed at "curbing" the co-op movement. It is designed to redress the unequal situation in which state enterprises found themselves with relation to cooperatives. A TASS correspondent received this explanation from Leonid Kunelskiy, member of the board of the USSR State Committee on Labour and Social Issues.

Under the former system, he said, the cooperatives paid a 2-3 per cent tax in the first year, five per cent in the second year and thereafter 10 per cent every year. The level of taxing in the state sector of the USSR is 40 per cent on average and 70 per cent in some sectors (for example, light industry).

When the former taxing system was elaborated, Leonid Kunelskiy continued, it was believed that the major part of cooperative earnings would be used to develop production and satisfy social needs. However, most cooperatives opted for a different way: Roughly 75-85 per cent of earnings are used to pay wages. As a result cooperatives produce 5 to 10 times less products per one rouble of the wage as compared with state enterprises. In other words, cooperatives found themselves at advantage. The new taxes rectify this inequality.

Now the level of taxing of cooperatives will be set not by the centre but by republics. Local authorities received an effective economic lever for stimulating those branches or services which are most required in a given region. The decree envisages providing lower taxes for some cooperatives, if they sell their products at prices not exceeding state prices, use secondary raw materials or local building materials in production, and manufacture goods which are in short supply in a given region.

There are currently 90,000 cooperatives in the USSR employing nearly one million people.

'Coercion' Still Blocking Cooperatives

PM0903091189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Morning Edition p2

[Article by I. Buzdalov, doctor of economic sciences under the rubric "The Law on Cooperatives Is Not Fully Operative": "Sack Race"]

[Text] The feelings which flared up around the cooperative movement even while the draft Law on Cooperatives was still being discussed have not died down even now. This is understandable. The success of the transformations being wrought throughout the socialist social system depends on how the cooperative movement develops. The task is to remove all the obstacles hindering the revival of the cooperative movement.

You would think that everything had been done in this direction: Legal consolidation has been given to the voluntary principle and freedom to form cooperative enterprises and organizations, including unions of cooperatives; the right to withdraw from a cooperative; economic independence and noninterference in cooperative affairs; freedom in choice of partners; and other vitally necessary principles. What is more, the cooperative movement's identity with socialism has been confirmed, as has the equality of different forms of socialist ownership—essentially, we can talk of the revival and rehabilitation of the political economic aspects of the Leninist cooperative legacy. The anticipated surge of cooperative activity has not materialized, however. So what is the problem?

"They are still not leaving us to work in peace," D. Alekseyev, chairman of a kolkhoz in the Ukraine, said in answer to this question. "Although the law stipulates that a kolkhoz accepts a state order on a voluntary basis, by agreement, we would even agree to a compulsory 'state command' just so long as we were not told how to run things. But the chance would be a fine thing! We are instructed what to sow and how much: The order has to be carried out, but we have to carry the losses...."

A great deal is being said and written about cases like these. But the time has come to make fundamental assessments and generalizations, especially as these unlawful actions are on a massive scale. What is more, local and departmental tyranny is only a "natural"

manifestation of the existing system of economic relations. Today not only this particular kolkhoz but any kolkhoz is surrounded with the same state orders, quotas, instructions, and prohibitions and tied down by unrelenting paperwork. Many of the most important provisions set out in the law are not in effect or are simply ignored. This negative attitude does not only rebound on the economy. Social apathy persists, damaging people's faith in the success of restructuring. At the moment, only a small number of chairmen—deputies, heroes of labor (particularly "double" heroes of labor)—have succeeded, and not without some effort, in standing up to this coercion.

This situation is also typical of other forms of cooperative activity. For example, there is not even any talk of reviving industrial cooperatives, and housing cooperatives do not have any rights. And, whatever slant is given to them, consumer cooperatives have been and still are an ordinary state department essentially devoid of cooperative features. The situation is no better with the new cooperatives: Their output in the sphere of production and services is next to nothing, as they say, but, on the other hand, there are more than enough people who would like to put a spoke in the wheels of development in this direction. There is arrogance in exalted rank: It is still very fashionable to authorize, forbid, or even liquidate a cooperative without even glancing at the law. What is particularly alarming is that "prohibitive, quasi-legal" acts are being undertaken by departments which are supposed to protect cooperatives at state level against any arbitrary regulation.

Things are no easier with lease relations—a very important element in the party's present agrarian policy. As the press has pointed out more than once, "an ax is being taken" to lease collectives. Not just an ordinary ax, but also a theoretical and ideological "ax." The opinion that this is not our path, not a socialist path, is still alive and kicking. Hence the attempts at suppression. Even from my own slight experience, I believe that a rural cooperative member working in lease conditions is capable of feeding 70-80 people as opposed to the 10-12 under the present agroindustrial system. But why, in that case, is the price of the same tractor or motor vehicle 2-3 times higher? Why are we demanding that "long-term" credit be repaid in 2 years? Why, under these conditions, and still without competitors as yet, should he not raise the prices of his own products?...

It would be possible, of course, to impose prices on cooperatives "based on the level of services" in order to "regulate" price formation. But the consequences of this kind of regulation in kolkhoz markets, for example, are well known. The law clearly states: Prices must be based on the "mutual interests" of cooperatives and their partners "in agreement with the consumer or independently." Potential cooperative members are beginning to wonder whether it is worth getting involved in this unreliable business.

In other words, there is still a great gap between the legal provisions enshrined in the law and their realization in practice. Restructuring is in progress, but people at various levels of management still work on the basis that cooperative self-management and real people's power in economic life generally can be substituted by a socialist verbal prefix in just the same way as the role of economic competition and rivalry in the goods and services market can be fulfilled by formal socialist competition. However, economic reality, real interests, and objective laws cannot be deceived by even the most ideologically irreproachable adjectives.

A key issue in the task of casting off the heavy chains of bureaucracy is the real economic independence of all labor collectives, including those which have transferred to lease relations and are working in one way or another within the framework of a cooperative. There is no shortage of exhortations and directives on this point. An economic form of implementing the principle of economic independence and the economically accountable realization of social ownership—the commodity-money form—is being restored. Not only cooperatives but state enterprises, too, now enjoy the status of commodity producers. And where there is a commodity, there is also buying and selling, the economic isolation of the vendor, and equality of partners in a trade deal.

All this is true. But the cooperative—and the cooperative member, kolkhoz worker, and shareholder in a consumer society even more so—have still not become the real masters in their own home and have no real freedom in their choice of decisions and partners. It is quite amazing that, while speaking out in favor of democratization and independence, the leaders of even the best kolkhozes and the chairmen of the cooperative agroindustrial associations set up in place of the rayon agroindustrial associations issue the same orders in their farm or association and sometimes even practice blatant diktat in relation to lease collectives.

The cooperative movement still lacks competent representative bodies to ensure protection for cooperatives and promote their activity on the basis of the principles of full economic accountability. It is true that the kolkhoz sector has its Kolkhoz Council. At the moment, however, it is a formal prototype of genuinely representative cooperative bodies such as, for example, the unions and councils of production cooperatives in Hungary, the CSSR, and other socialist countries. The Kolkhoz Council is not in the position today to effectively protect a kolkhoz or the kolkhoz sector as a whole from departments, "higher" bodies, or even specific officials from these bodies.

The question of creating a fully representative body in the kolkhoz sector—a union of kolkhozes—is therefore coming urgently unto the agenda. Sovkhozes also need their own higher bodies of self-management—specialized associations and trusts that could join kolkhoz-sovkhoz cooperative formations. Incidentally, the issue

of whether Gosagroprom in its present form is really needed, starting from the rayon agroindustrial association, is apparently reaching the stage where it is no longer open to question.

Those opposed to the idea of forming independent bodies of cooperative self-management usually cite the Tsentrosoyuz "system." This apparently has everything: unions of cooperatives and their elected bodies from the bottom to the top. The only thing that is lacking is real democracy. The spirit of giving instructions still prevails within this system. Timid calls for self-management by primary cooperatives are still drowning in the traditional ritual of reporting back on fulfillment of plan control figures and targets set from above.

However, the law obliges the legislative authority to monitor fulfillment of the law and take measures to ensure that it is complied with. In that case, why, for example, does the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium not look into the present situation in the cooperative movement and in the Tsentrosoyuz, in particular? This could give a substantial boost to reforming unions of consumer societies in line with the spirit and the letter of the USSR Law on Cooperatives.

All this, of course, is only part of the question of liberating the cooperative movement. Another aspect—the most important one—is to overcome the domination of administrative-edict methods and statewide bureaucratic oppression. The basic root of the evil lies in the system of allocations in kind, which, for a long time, has been passed off as virtually the chief advantage of a planned economy.

Economic methods of management, which assume, in particular, the voluntary acceptance of a state order by a cooperative or a kolkhoz, are another matter entirely. Here, the interests of the sides are regulated by commodity-money relations. And the economic contract is the only document. This kind of tie is incomparably more direct and, at the same time, more systematic. The present kind of tie, on the other hand—despite the fact that it is scientifically termed as "direct"—dictates something quite different: Put your forage grain onto the elevator and then, sometimes after it has traveled thousands of kilometers all over the country, you will get it back at three times the price in the form of mixed feed....

People are now trying to explain the persisting administrative-edict methods by saying that the current 5-year Plan is structured in the old way. It is hard to understand the logic of these explanations. After all, combining the new with the old and outmoded is fraught with the danger of wrecking the job of reviving the cooperative movement and conducting radical economic reform. That is because, as practice has shown, "protracted" reforms have ended in failure. Radical reforms, on the other hand, have succeeded when they have been carefully prepared and changes have been simultaneously introduced throughout the complex. Holding onto the old ways means shutting the door to the new.

Finally, the most general, but fundamental question of establishing cooperative and production democracy in general: Delimiting the functions of party, state, and economic bodies. The planned radical changes in the economic system cannot be made without the appropriate changes in the political system. As was said back in 1985: "We have to start with the upper echelons"—and that is obvious. But there is an incomprehensible, unwarranted delay in making this start.

Practice invariably shows that as long as there is direct, unchecked interference by soviet bodies—and especially party bodies—in economic activity, that is not restricted by law or accompanied by the strictest responsibility (including legal responsibility), there is no guarantee of successfully overcoming all the obstacles in the way of reviving cooperatives and implementing the whole complex of sharp, decisive changes in the economy and in the country's social life as a whole.

*** Member of Latvian Industry Group Interviewed**
WA18000562 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with P. Maksimov, general director of 'Sarkana Zvaigzne' Association, founding member of the Association of Industrialists, by A. Koshchuyeva: "Association of Industrialists, Step One"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] Perhaps, I will not be guilty of straying from the truth if I say that there is no "hotter" problem for economists in our republic than searching for the optimum model of regional economic accountability. The answer to the most significant question—where do we go from here?—hinges on a proper choice of this model. After all, territorial self-financing and economic accountability are not an end unto themselves. New economic arrangements should create conditions for the formation of an all-union market fully supplied with high-quality goods. They should, but so far the store shelves are getting emptier. To a certain degree, one of the reasons for it is the fact that, despite being burned by our sad experience with ill-considered novelties, we still hurriedly grasp at the very first suggestion without an in-depth preliminary analysis. Given the current situation, the economists suggest that we think not twice but 20 times before we do something. After all, no sooner was the draft of a radical economic reform conceived as industrialists began to carry on in unison: Here it is, here is the panacea—economic accountability. They began to tune its mechanism, some in reality and some on paper, but largely [the mechanism] of the first, easier model. They thought it was a revolution, but it turned out to be a palace coup. The results were far smaller than expected. Now they are embarking on [implementing]

the second model. However, models are not at issue as much as the degree of maturity of economic accountability relations at enterprises. It is necessary to improve them both in the horizontal and vertical planes. This is a well-known truth, but in most republic enterprises economic accountability gets stuck at the very early stages. To be sure, the enterprising ones are using its most productive version. For example, the workforces of the Riga bus factory and the Daugavpils Driving Chains Plant are learning how to work under lease arrangements.

Industrialists of the republic search for different ways out of the present situation. Managers of five enterprises in Riga—the VEF [electro-technology plant], the "Radiotekhnika," "Sarkana Zvaigzne," "Kompressor," and "Kommutator"—have decided to set up the Association of Industrialists in order to find specific ways for solving the most acute socioeconomic problems. This is a social and completely voluntary organization. What are its tactics and its strategy? A Latvian Information Agency correspondent has asked one of the founding members of the association, P. Maksimov, general director of the "Sarkana Zvaigzne" Association to respond to this question.

[Maksimov] Integrated efforts, cooperation, and specialization of industrial enterprises are necessary in order for the economic sovereignty of the republic and priority development of agriculture to become a reality and in order to halt the mechanical increase of the population of Latvia. These are faithful allies of intensified production in the absence of which the objectives set will not be achieved. This is why we decided to form the association. Its main goal is to raise the standard of living of the populace of the republic through increasing real income and solving social problems. However, these beautiful goals may turn into the idle slogans of the old if scientific and technical advancement in our economy is not accelerated.

[Koshchuyeva] How do you imagine this actually happening?

[Maksimov] First of all, in the form of integrating our scientific potential with production. So far, this alliance does not exist. As is known, the scientists of Latvia do not spoil us with their attention. Almost 80 percent of their projects are for the benefit of [entities] outside our republic. Even now, several offers of mutual cooperation from research collectives have been received, despite the founding congress or conference of the association having not been held yet.

Besides, we envisage cooperation among enterprises in carrying out large-scale production, social, ecological and other projects. I would like to stress one more aspect. As far as I am aware, during the consideration of a model of regional economic accountability developed by the economists of the Baltic area in the Council of Ministers of the USSR, central ministries came out against making enterprises reporting to union [echelons] the property of republics. It is understandable that they do not want to part with their power. This is why the founders of the association propose to create for such enterprises the status of non-ministry affiliated enterprises, that is to say, fully independent enterprises contributing funds to the national and republic budget. Everyone stands to win except the ministries which, despite the Law on the State Enterprise, continue to use our money as they see fit.

We do not yet know what final decision is going to be made "upstairs." However, it is necessary even at this point to defend the rights and interests of labor collectives from the administrative, arbitrary rule by both the Moscow and local officials. This is why we believe that this will be easier to do not only at the large but also at the smallest enterprises of our republic within the framework of the Association of Industrialists. There are quite a few of those willing to become members of the association even now. This is why I believe that we will be able to set up joint enterprises, joint stock companies, and banks, and—this is very important—change the production lines of duplicating auxiliary shops, transfer [the right to use] them on a commercial basis or lease expensive equipment from one another. We will be able to invest some of the profit generated into the fixed assets and working capital.

[Koshchuyeva] What exactly do you mean by changing the production lines of duplicating shops?

[Maksimov] It is no secret that the shortage of machine-tool attachments in our republic is our Achilles' heel. It does not make any sense to complain that the Riga Experimental Attachments Plant produces mainly for the needs of outside consumers. This is why we, for example, are planning to set up our own production of attachments on the basis of the tool shop at the "Straume."

[Koshchuyeva] The picture you have painted convinces us that the prospects for the enterprises-members of the association are rosy. However, what will our republic gain from the association?

[Maksimov] Let us take the main point—the development of agriculture which was declared a priority. We may participate in the mutually advantageous subsidization of construction in rural areas, develop the production of agricultural machinery and implements, operate joint processing plants. Some of the projects envisaged are already being executed. For example, the Riga bus factory began producing refrigerator cars, to be sure, in small numbers; our association began to manufacture garden tractors. However, we want to stress that funds were allocated to the Agroprom before, and God alone knows where they went, because the returns are nowhere in sight. Now we want more than just to know where our money goes. Firstly, in a democratic environment, state agencies of the republic must report to the public about the efficiency of investing in infrastructure. Secondly,

when industrial enterprises invest funds, they should, in our opinion, receive some of the profit from agricultural production. Then they will invest as much as possible.

At the risk of drawing fire, I believe it is necessary to talk about one more plan of ours. At present, they talk a lot about the issue of hazardous waste disposal in our republic. They even suggest that it be transported to some remote places. First of all, where do we find such places? Secondly, a good master will not put out his trash in front of his neighbor's door. I hope that citizens of the republic will support our concept of building in the republic a small plant processing hazardous and all other production wastes using the most up-to-date technology. The association will provide the money for this. It is not at all necessary to import workers for this plant from other regions. The personnel and construction materials necessary will be found at the enterprises belonging to our association. Of course, we will switch to waste-free technologies, and build up-to-date waste treatment facilities. For example, my association completed the construction of such facilities with its own resources in late December.

[Koshchuyeva] In a word, the old forms of management are clearly too tight for the industry of the republic whereas the new ones are only being "tried on for size?"

[Maksimov] Yes, and our great hope is that they will fit in organically in the general model of regional economic accountability being introduced, which will stop the gross product-oriented flywheel of the old economic mechanism.

It appears that there are a lot of attractive aspects in the concept of creating the Association of Industrialists. The prospect of getting rid of the fiat of all-union ministries and local officials, finally implementing the Law on the State Enterprise completely, actually ensuring the priority of agriculture, and so forth cannot but make us rejoice. However, certain questions remain even after our interview: Could it be that the ministerial monopoly will be replaced by the fiat of local industrialists? It is attractive that aid to rural areas is envisaged in a form other then handouts. However, the duties of the association in asserting this priority need to be strictly defined. As it is, the obligations of collective and state farms to sell their products to the state are set up in a centralized manner. Could it happen that these two will have different clout? Since our coffers are nationwide, and the profit is common, we should, in restructuring the principles of management, think about contributing more to them so that we can take more from it.

Agricultural

* Variety of Opinions Voiced on Leasing System

WA18240059 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Somov: "Kabala or Freedom"]

[Text] All huddled together, the kids raised the placards above their heads. Two adults were "directing"—apparently the father and mother. Having hurried to work at this hour when school should be in session, workers of the Gosagroprom were confused when they looked at this strange demonstration next to their entrance to the building. The family, it turns out, was demanding land for rent, protesting against the bureaucratic red tape of the local authorities.

A journalist colleague gave a different story. The kolkhoz chairman had held three meetings in a row with the same agenda. Take land for rent, men. The audience frowned and grew silent. "Are there really none who want to become farmers?" the chairman looked at the kolkhoz workers with confusion and despair. The men averted their eyes. Why would they want to rent?...

Here are two clearly opposing situations. With the critical food problem, the question of leasing has become red hot, as they say. Squabbles, arguments, heated emotions—more than enough. And the reader mail—thousands of crossed swords. Leasing has brought everything out into the open: the fate of the village, the sufficiency of farm products, and, finally, the success of restructuring.

Therefore it is not difficult to understand the impatience of those who are demanding that the land be returned to the peasants as quickly as possible. In the opinion of many, the reasons for the crop shortages and the insignificantly small milk yields lie in the alienation of the grain growers from the main means of production. "Only leasing can 'wake up' the peasant and get rid of his drunkenness, his uncharacteristic laziness, and his indifference," thinks I. Knyaz, a consultant from Omsk Oblast, a former sovkhoz director. "We need leasing like we need the air we breathe," the director of the Sovinskiy Sovkhoz in Kirov Oblast, N. Shvetsov, writes even more definitely. "We must not miss the time for the organization of leasing," warns the Kaluga resident, P. Opolev.

The newspapers and television screens are filled with announcements about the successes of the new farmers. Here they have doubled and there they have even tripled the yield. The cows, which yesterday produced as much as goats do, have now become much more productive. And if all this is true, what is keeping leasing from spreading everywhere? Incidentally, last year the gates were opened wide for the new method. Renters were operating on every third farm. The people are legitimately interested: Where is the "explosion" of farm products? No particular changes can be seen in the stores. The most appetizing fruits of the system of working in spurts will not satisfy you. Let us recall how quite recently the press placated the readers with figures concerning the universal application of the contract. And what did the verification reveal? There was no abundance.

"All the newspapers simultaneously have gotten behind leasing, as they did with corn under Khrushchev," complains N. Nikitin from Kasimovskiy Rayon in Ryazan Oblast. Another game of "I spy." It is apparent that the devices not being used to publicize the new labor organization are really not the best. And it is impossible to

break the habit of certain local leaders of transforming an important cause into another fad, beating the drum, and getting ahead of events, writing victorious reports.

Formalism strangles people's initiative and independence as though they were squeezed in pincers. No good can come of leasing on paper, of course. This plays into the hand of opponents of the current methods of restructuring economic relations in rural areas. "I am against giving out the land for individual use. We do not need farmers who are capitalists and private property owners.," A. Zalivadnaya from Ilichevsk gives her opinion. She is seconded by A. Yakimov from Bendery: "We should be speaking not about the regeneration of the socialist farmer but about the regeneration of the capitalist farmer. Things should be called by their real names."

Many people see the renter as someone receiving special favors and say he should not be trusted. "His task is to take as much as he can from the land today and not worry about tomorrow," writes a scientific associate from Odessa, K. Seleznev. "He is not interested in radically improving the fertility of the soil, he tries to skim off the cream, and when the land is exhausted he abandons it." A worker from Kingisepp, A. Usov, thinks that the temporary renter is concerned about only one thing: how to earn as much as he can.

How fair are these reproaches? Let us try to figure this out. Who is the favored person in agriculture today? The one who takes complete responsibility for the land, for the equipment and, of course, for the results of his labor? Moreover, the time periods are frequently determined not by the renter but by the farm manager. For some reason the contract is concluded for a season or two or at most 5 years. Although the farmers are ready to link their entire lives to the contract forever. Many readers are in favor of contracts for an indefinite length of time and for transferring the rented , roperty to the heirs.

Or perhaps the real favorite is the one who lives according to the principle: the day is gone and good riddance? Having learned since childhood that everything around him is common property and at the same time belongs to nobody, the person does not burden himself with concerns about the final result. In the morning he gets behind the wheel of tractor that belongs to nobody, goes out into a field that belongs to nobody, and fills a seeder that belongs to nobody with seeds that belong to nobody. When the time comes he uses a combine that belongs to nobody to harvest the crop that belongs to nobody. Is this not why our common grain bins are not overflowing?

If he has paid out of his own pocket for land, equipment, and seeds and has been given the right to dispose of the crop he raises with them, the renter becomes the master. A real master. Now nobody gives him unearned pay. His well-being is directly linked to the results of his labor. Here one can hardly speak seriously about the private property psychology or the regeneration of capitalist "phantoms."

Does this mean that we have finally found a panacea? After all there are thousands of examples of the effectiveness of leasing. But we should not lapse into euphoria. The ease with which such teams and brigades are formed, like mushrooms after a rain, is deceptive and dangerous. For instance there is Pytalovskiy Rayon in the Pskov area where most of the machine operators and animal husbandry workers have been working according to the new system for about a year and have become proprietors of the fields and farms. Behind their convincing results (a 1.5-2-fold reduction of the production cost of products, larger yields) one cannot but see that certain renters have not been able to achieve the new goals.

One might say that renters are not born. Desire alone is extremely inadequate here. The impulse to leave one's city apartment with all its conveniences and start to work, say, raising calves is a noble one. But everyday life in the country can break down the best intentions. In addition to experience, ability, and farming skills, a renter must also have economic knowledge, and he absolutely must have at least inclinations toward being an entrepreneur. Otherwise he cannot become a farmer, he cannot master the fine points of cost accounting. Renters must be trained and taught.

Certain readers put the matter this way: Nobody can be refused the right to rent. Perhaps this is true. Only it must be clarified: Nobody who is prepared to bear the burden. And it, unfortunately, is extremely heavy. "A farmer frequently works from 5 in the morning until midnight with no days off or holidays," writes A. Kurbatov (the address was illegible). "He does not have time to rest. How many people can stand this kind of intensiveness of labor?" The director of the Kirov Sovinskiy Sovkhoz, N. Shvetsov, whom we already mentioned, reflects: "What are we advertising, respected comrades? That all you have to do is put a bunch of heifers in an old abandoned shed and there you have it—there is an abundance of meat? The results may indeed be fairly good. But at what price? At the price of exhausting manual labor. This kind of leasing is a kabala for the worker and it does not bring him satisfaction."

Unfortunately, many people are writing about the kabala. From that same Kirov Oblast from the village of Kryukovtsy comes a letter from I. Kazakovtsev: "I know a person who worked under family leasing for 2 years. Recently he confided in me: 'A pension will probably not be necessary; I shall not make it that long. My health has deteriorated severely during this time. I am so tired that at dinner I cannot even hold a spoon in my hand; my hands shake from the tension.'"

Of course a renter takes on any burden voluntarily. It is possible that some people do not know the limits of their own strength. Does this mean that there is no problem here? The majority of readers do not think so. Frequently what is turned over for leasing are dilapidated, even written-off premises where the only mechanization is the farmer's own hands. Large machinery is frequently

unsuitable and, as we know, it is impossible to find small equipment anywhere. Recently the leaders of one tractor plant shared their plans with television viewers. This year they intend to produce 50 small tractors, and next year 300....

It is not without justification that the authors of some letters think that the only way it will be possible to make a breakthrough on the food front is in the basis of advanced technology and highly effective machinery. If necessary, the renter must be able to obtain advice from a qualified agronomist, zootechnician, or economist. The farmer will not get far on enthusiasm. Of course he is not even dreaming yet about the benefits of civilization that his Western colleagues have. For example, personal computers. But he does count on normal conditions for work and rest.

A. Lenkov from Leningrad reminds us that there are synonyms for leasing: sharecropping and metayage. The person who concludes an agreement, they say, has an unenviable lot. Many renters take up the new work for the sake of the freedom and economic independence. It is not high wages but the possibility of working without buyers and without people from the office giving orders that attracts the grain growers. But will it always be possible to cast off the administrative yoke? Sometimes farm leaders and specialists interfere in the work of the brigades and teams. Under various pretexts they sometimes take away the equipment and even transfer people from one section to another.

"There is a lot of talk about independence," V. Kulpin, the head economist of the Berezovskiy Sovkhoz in Moldavia, shares his thoughts: "But we received from the rayon a schedule-order to send workers to a construction site and we were forced to break the rental agreements the people had signed. Then the sovkhoz had to compensate them for their lost earnings."

And the letters from the renters? Most of the time the letters were bitter confessions of how they did not get along with the local authorities. For example G. Chistov's brigade from the Godunovskiy Sovkhoz in Vladimir Oblast did not make the grade because it did not receive support and assistance from the farm leaders. L. Tsimbalistova from the Kooperator Sovkhoz in Astrakhan Oblast has written to the editors twice. The farm unexpectedly refused to buy the chickens her family had raised as renters. The director said: "Do whatever you want to with your hens; we do not want them and that agreement is just a piece of paper." They had to find their own buyers and keep the chickens an extra 2 months. It seems that it was only the intervention of the party obkom that put everything in its place.

"Economic independence is nothing but a fiction," is the conclusion reached by O. Belyayev, a renter from the Proletarskiy Sovkhoz in Nelidovskiy Rayon in Kalinin Oblast, "We are completely under the power of the people who are the least interested in leasing—administrators of various ranks and levels."

It seems that leasing could do no harm to the most impoverished farm. On the contrary, there would be additional output and savings on efforts and resources. Why do these opposing positions arise?

Here is how the situation as explained by O. Shlyamov of the Krasnyy Ural Kolkhoz in Kizilskiy Rayon in Chelyabinsk Oblast: "Our farm leaders are avidly propagandizing against leasing and reduction of the administrative staff. They say that the people have not matured enough for independent work, that the kolkhoz workers take everything from the kolkhoz, that there is no extra land, that it is impossible to allot equipment, and so forth and so on. In a word, if one is to believe them, leasing leaves the people with nothing. In my opinion the problem is that democracy and glasnost exist on the farm within a framework that is convenient for the leaders. They are used to holding all the strings and being the ultimate authorities in everything. Leasing leaves no room for command methods of management."

I shall not try to judge how objective the author of the letter is in his evaluations. Many other readers tell how managers and renters have ended up on opposite sides of the fence.

There is also this viewpoint: Leasing is unthinkable within the framework of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes. This being the case, we would do better to distribute the land to the farmers. People who do not have an adequate idea of the condition of the agrarian economy and the social processes in rural areas are called upon to dispose of the farms. The changeover to leasing can be neither speeded up nor held back. Let every agricultural worker decide for himself where he can work to the greatest advantage today.

Along with the kolkhozes and sovkhozes there can also be small cooperatives and farming establishments. The multistructured nature of the agrarian sector, which certain scientists advise, is today perhaps the optimal variant. Then the farmer would have equal rights with the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and cooperators when it comes to supply, credit, and sale of products.

Does this mean that the changes do affect the kolkhozes and sovkhozes? Their internal structure is indeed archaic and impedes restructuring. There are already many farms that have been transformed into unions and corporations of cooperators and renters. The small management staff that has been hired there for a certain amount of time can be eliminated immediately if it gets in the way.

What else is bothering the renters? They are in favor of making the changes in rural areas irreversible. So that nobody will try to carry out a kulak expropriation on the resourceful peasants. The new economic relations must

cease to be the fashion, a one-time campaign. The Soviet farmer must have in the state a reliable protector of his interests. Incidentally, among the proposals is this one: to create a union of renters, also to help the grain growers. Let the renters decide for themselves how things are to be.

Agricultural Developments for 3-8 March
LD0903051889

[Editorial report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 3-8 March, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

3-5 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

6 March

Kazakhstan farms are completing field work preparations. Over 100,000 tractors have been overhauled. About 500,000 sowing machines, cultivators etc. are ready. Field camps are ready in most of the south. (1200)

Fifteen thousand hectares of land which had gone out of use in Turkmenia have been restored and handed over to farms. Field work has already begun on this land. A further 20,000 hectares will be restored by next year. (1200)

Output and sales to the state of animal husbandry products have been increased by a quarter in Kurgan Oblast since beginning of wintering. Each cow now produces on average 1.5 kg more milk than for same period last year. Cattle have put on more weight. (1200)

7-8 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

Military

Experts Cite Reduction in Naval Activities
LD0803173989 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1300 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] According to Soviet military-political experts the USSR has decreased the activity of its naval forces in the northern sea areas by 30-40 percent. The reductions include mainly sea warfare exercises. According to experts the number of men will go down in the north because the USSR's decision to reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men also includes units on the Kola Peninsula.

Major General (Petr D. Barapolev), retired, assesses in Helsinki that General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk speech just over a year ago has positively influenced relations between the USSR and the Nordic countries. He referred, for example, to agreements signed with Sweden and the reductions in the operation of the naval forces. (Barapolev) believes that the reduction of the naval forces is a step toward reducing the number of men in the naval forces and a step toward a nuclear-weapons-free north.

(Barapolev) is head of the delegation which is giving lectures at the parliament about security and cooperation in northern Europe. The delegation will go on to Stockholm tomorrow.

* Official Discusses Armed Forces Restructuring
WA18010502 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with Lieutenant General G. A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Army and Navy, by Yu. Bychkov: "Today We Are Not on Parade"; date and place not given]

[Text] **Our correspondent discusses restructuring and expansion of democracy and glasnost in the Army and the organization of educational and mass cultural work among military servicemen with Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy.**

[Bychkov] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, the Armed Forces celebrated its 71st anniversary at an unusual, revolutionary time. Tell us about restructuring in the Army. Is it not lagging behind the transformations in our society?

[Stefanovskiy] First of all I shall note that the restructuring in the Army is keeping pace with the general restructuring processes in the country, in terms of both time and level.

It is known that our Army is the flesh of the people's flesh. Therefore everything that takes place with the society is also typical of the Armed Forces. If the society is in pain, the Army is unhealthy. If the society gets better, our moral situation among the troops also improves. A heavy burden of mistakes and distortions accumulated in the Army and Navy during the years of stagnation. Our task is to rid ourselves of this sad and unnecessary legacy as quickly as possible. But that is only the half of it. It is important to have a constructive, creative program of restructuring. The military personnel, political agencies, and party organizations have such a program.

If one were to single out the main thing in its content it would be the practical implementation of the requirements of the Soviet defensive military doctrine and the directives of the 19th all-union party conference concerning changing Soviet military construction and troop training over to qualitative parameters. We have entered a stage of conducting large-scale practical measures related to the reduction of the Armed Forces, improvement of management

and combat training, and making the divisions and units strictly defensive in nature. The central staff of the Ministry of Defense and the administrations of the military districts and Army and Navy groups have already been reduced by practically 30 percent.

As a worker in the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, I cannot but mention the restructuring of party political work in the Armed Forces. Its main purpose is to enter into the process of the qualitative development of Army and Navy personnel and the strengthening of the military discipline of each Communist and Komsomol member, soldier, officer, and general, as well as all other personnel. For it is no secret that the greatest difficulty along this path lies in the restructuring of our thinking and our psychology, which were formed in earlier years.

All this requires that political agencies, party committees, and Army and Navy bureaus be more directed toward man and his interests, the provision of an example of a political approach to the solutions to imminent problems, the resolute elimination of administrative-command methods of leadership, high democratism, proximity to the people, and widespread glasnost. Such an approach finds support among Communists. For example, during the accountability and election campaign which ended recently for the first time political agencies answered to party members concerning their work and their contribution to the restructuring, and they received their evaluation. According to the results of the reports, the work of two political agencies was deemed unsatisfactory. Previously anything like that would have been impossible.

Moreover, during the course of restructuring we have introduced the practice of providing for equal responsibility and accountability of Communists to party organizations, including commanders and their deputies for political work who previously were accountable only to higher party agencies and not to the local party organizations. Such an approach engendered the exceptional position of certain Communists in party collectives and somewhat hampered the establishment of democratic principles in party work.

Questions of reducing our Armed Forces should be a subject of constant attention and a great deal of concern on the part of military personnel and all Soviet people. The decision to reduce the number of personnel by 500,000 will require that the commanders and political agencies not only do an immense amount of organizational work for carrying out this task, but also implement a wide range of ideological and educational measures, observe the principle of social justice, and participate most actively in deciding the destinies of officers and ensigns who are subject to discharge from the Army as well as members of their families.

[Bychkov] Incidentally, a question in passing. Obviously, even with the reduction it will not be possible to avoid contradictions that are reflected in the interests of military personal who are subject to discharge from the Army, will it?

[Stefanovskiy] Of course there will be difficulties. We are already becoming aware of them. For we are speaking about changes in working conditions, a disturbance of customary ties in the military collectives, and a change in many families' positions in life. But I must note that we are trying to take past experience into account as much as possible as well as lessons learned when at the beginning of the sixties Army personnel were cut back by 1.2 million all at once. In work with personnel today we must have an individual approach, an accounting for opinions, and a permanent certification commission created in each military unit both for the party organization and for the entire officer collective. Most of the military servicemen who will be discharged from the Army are those who have served out their established terms and those who have sullied the honor and dignity of an officer and are not fit for their position in terms of their political, business, and moral qualities.

[Bychkov] Certain authors are raising the problem of Army reform and the principles of its formation. In connection with the warming of the political climate on the planet, people are expressing the idea that we are spending too much on defense. It is even being suggested that we make amendments to the USSR Constitution and replace the principle of universal military obligation with voluntary formation of the Army. The question is also posed this way: Should a person serve in the region where he lives? They have in mind the military district. In developing this thought people also express the idea that military units can be controlled by local soviets of people's deputies. I should like to know your attitude toward these discussions.

[Stefanovskiy] Concerning defense expenditures, the decisions made recently by the country's political and state leadership speak for themselves. A reduction of the Armed Forces, the elimination of a whole class of missiles, and other decisions simultaneously envision reduction of expenditures for military purposes. On the whole our military budget will be reduced by 14.2 percent and expenditures on the production of arms and military equipment—19.5 percent. Many defense industry enterprises have already been included in the solution to national economic problems and there is no doubt that this process will grow. As the military threat is reduced new decisions can be made. I assume that we shall always allot for defense as much as is necessary to guarantee security.

Now about the principles of military construction and the formation of the Armed Forces. Many suggestions are being made regarding this. We are speaking about transforming the Army from a cadre army into a militia army, about changing it over to voluntary hiring, and so forth.

The interest in such an important sphere of our life as the country's defense and the construction of its Armed Forces which has been aroused in the community by restructuring and glasnost can only be welcomed. But each of these suggestions should be sufficiently substantiated and responsible. It is our conviction that for the present day taking into account the real situation in the world, the optimal principle for the assignments the Army and Navy now is that of universal military obligation.

Why is this principle preferable? First of all because under the conditions of the diminishing but still present threat of war, it provides best for the training of reserves. Let us recall 1941. We know that during the first year of the war our Army sustained significant losses. But in a short period of time we were able to create powerful reserves which subsequently comprised the skeleton of the Armed Forces who routed the fascist horde. Let us imagine for a moment that something like that happened with a hired army. Who would replace it? Without reserves it would be practically impossible to solve this problem. Moreover, our country cannot be compared with any other in terms of space, area, and length of borders. In order to guarantee its reliable and comprehensive protection it is necessary to have sufficient forces and funds. I have in mind in the quantitative sense. Nor can we fail to take into account the fact that at this point the state cannot afford to maintain a professional army. I will not give away any secrets if I say that the enlisted men and noncommissioned officers in the volunteer U.S. Army today receive more than our officers and generals do.

Finally, the comrades who advise keeping a hired army apparently do not know that some of our Armed Forces are still formed according to the volunteer principle. Pilots and a considerable portion of the sailors and missile men, and all the officers, ensigns, and warrant officers are professionals.

As concerns the formation of the Army in the place of residence—service where you live—this will have a negative effect on the combat readiness and the quality of troop training, which has been corroborated by our experience. In this connection I shall allow myself to recall a statement of V.I. Lenin: "Your appeals to create partisan detachments to fight against the regular imperial army seem ridiculous to any soldier." Moreover, we cannot but take into account the fact that the missile forces, the Air Force, the Navy, and the air defense forces, because of the specific nature of the tasks they perform and their purpose in general, cannot be formed according to the territorial principle. In a word, a regular army can and should be opposed only by another regular army.

Therefore we consider an amendment to the USSR Constitution to be premature. Let us be realistic and evaluate today's military and political situation. After all, in spite of our country's peace initiatives, the United States has not abandoned a single one of its military programs and, as we can see, does not intend to reduce expenditures on their implementation either. Therefore we must take reality into account and draw the corresponding conclusions for ourselves.

The answer to the question of the subordination of the Army to the local soviets, it seems, follows from the policy for staffing the Armed Forces discussed above and one-man management on a party basis as the most important principle for managing them. Decentralization of the leadership of the Army and Navy stands in contradiction to their specific purpose and the tasks they face.

[Bychkov] It is known that the combat effectiveness of the Army depends not only on the availability of technical equipment but also on the military spirit of the forces and the attitude of each soldier. The military spirit depends largely on the sense of conviction and the overall culture of each person. Up to this point in a number of cases service in the Army has been perceived as time lost on the plane of the establishment of the culture of the individual. Moreover a combination of the words "army" and "culture" sometimes produce an ironic reaction. How true is this?

[Stefanovskiy] The direct dependency between the Army's combat effectiveness and the spirit of the forces is generally known. Therefore anyone who is serious and interested in the authority and combat effectiveness of the Army and Navy should be concerned about improving the education of the personnel, their ideological conviction, their professional military qualifications, and their overall culture. The Soviet Army and Navy have rich possibilities for this and using them skillfully over 2 or 3 years of service will make it possible to add significantly to each.

The troops have broad cultural interests and needs which we, naturally, strive to satisfy as fully as possible. One can give, for example, this point: This year the number of subscribers to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA among military servicemen increased by 24 percent.

So I think that an ironic reaction to the combination of the words "army" and "culture" would come only from those who do not know the conditions for the training, life, and cultural leisure of military servicemen and members of their families. Yet I am still far from idealizing the situation.

We could never qualitatively solve the problem of military and political training and strengthening of troop discipline without the development of capabilities and talents and the disclosure of high spiritual and moral impulses of the individual. Here as nowhere else the commanders and political workers must have intelligence, tact, respect for people, a sense of responsibility to the nation, and, of course, talent, conscience, and honor. It is simply unthinkable for a person to defend the homeland without these qualities. These traditions have

never died in our Army. It seems to me that the society loses respect for itself if it has a derogatory attitude toward those who defend it.

Of course, there are black sheep in every family. I would simply wish that the whole Army not be judged by these people. Unfortunately, our art has frequently given too primitive a picture of military servicemen. Our Army needs intelligent personnel now as never before, highly aware people who are educated and cultured. The equipment we entrust to them takes too much responsibility, and therefore we require of them not only a high degree of organization and efficiency in actions, but also both initiative and creativity.

Improvement of the spiritual climate in the military collectives contributes to disclosing and developing the talent of youth. Thus many original artistic collectives have originated here recently. Prizes from the Second All-Union Festival of Folk Art have been awarded to 3,000 military servicemen. Or take those same "Cascades" or "Blue Berets" who have become immensely popular among the Soviet people, especially among youth. These are independent creative collectives that originated in the Republic of Afghanistan.

Incidentally, the extreme conditions in which our forces were operating clearly elucidated the cultural and spiritual potential of the individual. Many poems and songs that originated there have now become a revelation, if one may call it that. They reflected the whole range of feelings of the soldier and the officer.

[Bychkov] Military camaraderie developed and became strong among the forces who served in Afghanistan. They are becoming more mature and courageous. This is indeed true, but only from one side. Could not the war have damaged the souls of the young people? What problems are we encountering on this plane? To what degree is support being given to men who served in Afghanistan?

[Stefanovskiy] I have had occasion to visit Afghanistan frequently. I met many of our fighting men there. I still see some of the Afghan vets to this day. I shall judge for myself from my own comrades. Of course it is not simple to return from a region of combat activity to peacetime life. This return involves psychological problems. The sense of social justice is especially avid. Here they need simple human support and sensitivity, attention and understanding both in the military collectives and in the place of residence, work, and training.

Soviet troops have returned to the homeland with a legitimate feeling of pride in their honorably performed patriotic and international duty. About 70 of them have become Heroes of the Soviet Union and many have been awarded combat orders and medals. The heroic feats of our men are known. They followed the order of the homeland, and it warmly and cordially greeted its sons, thanked them, and bowed its head in memory of those who died.

It is now our duty to surround with unwavering concern and attention the international fighting men and the families of those who died, became disabled, or were wounded. I repeat that this is a sacred duty and a service and party obligation for all of us. We must protect the soldiers and officers who have returned from Afghanistan from various kinds of questionable evaluations and attempts to cast a shadow on the duties they performed honorably. Our comrades did everything possible to render assistance to a fraternal nation, and they are in need of support during their adaptation to peacetime conditions of socialist creation and to service on the territory of the Soviet Union.

Among the troops who underwent testing and all-around tempering in Afghanistan, Army collectives are being cemented together and they are being assigned the most responsible duties related to training and education of personnel. Many of them are taking courses and are attending higher military training institutions. The general educational schools are waiting for them to play the role of teachers of primary military training, for which not only the internationalist soldiers, but also the military commissariats and local public education agencies must prove themselves more actively.

It would seem that correct positions with respect to internationalist soldiers and concern for them and their inclusion in creative labor are being demonstrated by the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee as well as local party and soviet agencies. For example, recently the bureau of the Komsomol Central Committee adopted a concrete decision concerning immortalizing the memory of the internationalist soldiers who died in Afghanistan. In Perm and Sverdlovsk Oblasts the youth housing complexes decided that in each residential building that had been constructed they would allot apartments for disabled veterans and the families of those who had died in Afghanistan, and the local agencies decided to give priority placement in preschool institutions to children of deceased and disabled soldiers.

But perhaps the main thing is that we shall have to do better and include internationalist soldiers in active educational work with youth and in purposeful activity for improving the culture of international relations in the labor and training collectives and for exchanging experience in patriotic and international education under the difficult conditions of Afghanistan. Everywhere they must become active assistants to the veteran councils in the work with the younger generation.

[Bychkov] The USSR elections of people's deputies are approaching. What are the special features of the participation of deputy candidates from the Armed Forces in

the election campaign? Will they have their own platforms or will they follow a policy that has been developed collectively? In this connection I should like to know: What is the nature of the participation of the Army in the country's political life?

[Stefanovskiy] I shall answer the last part of the question briefly: Their participation is very active since Army and Navy personnel are full-fledged citizens of the USSR and participate in the country's political life just as actively and with just as much interest as all Soviet people do.

As concerns the pre-election program of the Army candidates for deputies, in the election campaign all of them are speaking from the position of the general party platform, with a focus, of course, on defense issues and tasks of increasing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces on a qualitatively new basis and on increasing restructuring and its results in the Army and Navy, taking into account the directives of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Lizichev Signs Obituary of Defense Official

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[Obituary of Major General of the Reserve V.I. Fedorov]

[Excerpts] Viktor Ivanovich Fedorov, major general of the reserve, former deputy chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Central Directorate, died 3 March 1989 in his 61st year. [passage omitted]

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